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# Chetham Society,

ESTABLISHED M.DCCC.XLIII.

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

## HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS

CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

## LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

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5. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually, by three auditors, to be elected at the general meeting; and that any member who shall be one year in arrear of his subscription, shall no longer be considered as belonging to the Society.
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7. That twenty copies of each work shall be allowed to the editor of the same, in addition to the one to which he may be entitled as a member.

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# Publications of the Chetham Society

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THE RIGHT REV^D SAMUEL RUTTER, D.D.

*Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.*

# REMAINS

## HISTORICAL & LITERARY

CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

# LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

PUBLISHED BY

## THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

VOL. LXX.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXVII.

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THE

# STANLEY

# PAPERS.

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PART III.

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PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXVII.

# PRIVATE DEVOTIONS

AND

# MISCELLANIES

OF

## JAMES SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY, K.G.

WITH A

## PREFATORY MEMOIR

AND AN

## APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

THE REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.,

HONORARY CANON OF MANCHESTER; VICAR OF MILNROW;

AND RURAL DEAN.

VOL. 3.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXVII.

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THE

# PRIVATE DEVOTIONS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

*That Glorious Martyr*

# JAMES

# 7TH EARLE OF DERBY

COMPOSED BY HIS LORDSHIP VPON

SEVERALL OCCASIONS IN THE

ISLE OF MAN.[1]

[1] Written on the title-page of the 4to volume.

# *DIARY*

*OF*

## *JAMES 7th EARL OF DERBY.*

Januarie 7. My sonne Edward was borne 163 [*sic.*]
—— 19. My sonne Charles was borne $16^{27}_{28}$.
—— 31. I was borne 1606.
Februarie 24. My sonne Henry Frederick was borne 1634.
March 4. Wee fired the Spanish Shipp at Wire Water in Lanc. &c. 1642.
—— 10. My daughter Charlotte was borne 1628.
—— 18. Wee tooke the towne of Lancaster by assault &c. 1642.
—— 20. Wee tooke Preston by assault 1642.
—— 27. My sonne James died 1638.
—— 29. Wee defended the Calfe of Man ag$^{t}$ 5 Parliam$^{t}$ Shipes 1651.
Aprill 3. Our Enemies were routed at Stocken heath near Warrington 1643.
—— 4. My daughter Charlotte died 1629.
—— 21. The Enemies Cannon played 29 times, the Morter peece 5 times against Lathum 1644.
—— 24. My sonne Hen. died 1635.
—— 26. Wee relieved Warrington 1643. The Morter peice was taken at Lathum 1644.
May 27. The Seige was raised from before Lathum 1644.
—— 28. The towne of Boulton was taken 1644.

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May 27. The Seige was raised from before Lathum 1644.
—— 28. The towne of Boulton was taken 1644.

June 15. I came first into the Blessed Isle of Man 1643.

—— 17. M^rs^ Anne Cotting. the Lord Cott. daughter and my daughter in Law died 1643.

—— 25. I was married 1626.

July 17. My daughter Amelia Anna Sophia was borne 1633.

—— 30. My wife landed in the Isle of Man 1644.

August 15. I escaped a great danger of being killed in a Mankes Boat cominge from Captaine Bartlet's Ship at Derby Haven, a shot being made from the saide Shipe (whether by chance or no is doubtfull). It was as is pretended a mistake of one peice for another, but it was charged with Musket Bullets, peices of iron, &c. w^ch^ killed my dear freind M^r^ Rich. Weston and a man that rowed, and wounded Colonell Snead in a grevious manner, and I sitting in the midst of them escaped by the great goodness of Almighty God. 1650.

September 22. As I was reading alone in my chamber at Castle Rushen about 12 in the night, blood fell in a very strange manner upon my booke, 1647.

November 2. My sonne James was borne 1636.

—— 18. My sonne William was borne 1640.

—— 30. My sonne William escaped a great danger at Castle Rushen where he had fallen down a precipice neer a stayre, but that he being but five year old held himself by the handes vntile his sister Mary came to help him, &c. 1645.

December 4. My daughter Katherine was borne 1631.

—— 15. The Enemies forces were routed at West Hoghton Common in Lanc. 1642.

# *PRIVATE DEVOTIONS*

*OF*

# *JAMES 7th EARL OF DERBY.*

---

August 1, 1650.

*In the Isle of Man.*

GOD is in Heaven and thou on earth, therefore let thy words be few. *Eccles.* v. 2.

God is not wearied nor delighted with the length or elegance[2] of our Prayers, but Devotion is the length and Faith the eloquence. *S. R. B.*[3]

When you glorify the Lord exalt Him the most you can, for even yet will he far exceed.

And when you exalt Him do it with all your power, wearie not, for you never can go far enough. *Eccl.* xliii. 30.

Derby.

Aug. 5, 1650. *In the Isle of Man.*

HOW natural is it to man to wish this and that — now, who desireing any thing will not be glad to have it for the askeing?

God, who is able to give abundantly, saies, "Ask and Have;" so if we love God or ourselves we will obey Him. We'll no sooner Wake but [we will] rejoice in Him. We will say some short

[2] *Query* eloquence.

[3] *Query* Samuel Rutter's Book.

Ejaculation to acknowledge our great Thankfulness to Him for all past benefitts, and beseech Him for His further grace for the time to come.

Before we begin o^r owne Workes or engage o^rselves in affairs of any sort, on bended knees or in some other humble manner, we will give Him praise and glory, as to the God of our salvation. We will beseech Him for ourselves and others, according to our duties and necessities.

When by chance we fail herein, and are diverted by our neglect or by any accident preventing us, let us fear and apprehend mischances, crosses and disgraces. Let us suspect it as an ill omen to our designs that day; but if otherwise we do our duty of Prayer (if not the usuall length because of some vnlooked for necessity), yet by a few words w^th as much Faith, Zeale and Humilitie, we may be verily assured and chearfully expect a most prosperous successe in all.

If any evill thoughts be occasioned while we are Praying by any noise which we doe hear, by the mistake of any word w^ch we doe speak — as it often happeneth by the instigation of the Devil and not seldom by the wantonness of our hearts, whose thoughts are often wandering after vanities and worldly pleasures — it will doe well that at that instant we take into consideration our frailties and infirmities by which we become irreverent before a great King, even before the King of Kings, before God the Eternal Judge of men and Angells, by which our Prayers, which should doe us good, are turned into sinne. Yet is it not that we should cease immediately from further praying unless our consciences and minds be extreamly disturbed, but rather proceed with a holy anger against ourselves and go on resolutely with our prayers, intentively minding what we say, weighing well and considering every word wee utter, soe shall we become ourselves again. All idle imaginations will vanish and our hearts be resettled on our holy meditations.

In the time of Publike Prayer I kneel, and bow and rise, and doe all the Ceremonies w^ch are vsed in the Church, and which have

been ordered by the wisdom of former times, that thereby we might manifest a good consent in Prayer, our bodies with our soules, the people with the priest, all of us with one another.

In Private Prayer, I (to the best of my power) expresse all reverence to Almighty God, not tying myself too much to the Rules of the foresaid postures, but careful ever that my heart be a ready sacrifice for God; broken and contrite because of sin, thankfull because of benefitts, earnest in supplication.

In some places of the world it is not enough to kneel if there be not bowing of the body, nor soe, but to fall upon the ground. Yet in all places this one thing is required — to give our hearts to God. This I may doe upon my knees —

| | |
|---|---|
| By the example of our Saviour . . . . . | Luke xxii. 41 |
| Or falling on my face . . . . . | Matt. xxvi. 39 |
| In a Mount . . . . . | Luke xxii. 39 |
| In a Wilderness . . . . . | Luke v. 16 |
| In a solitary place . . . . . | Mark i. 35 |
| In my Closet . . . . . | Matt. vi. 6 |
| In my Bed as the Royal Prophet did . . . | Ps. vi. 6 |
| In my heart, though I speak not, as Hannah | 1 Sam. i. 13 |
| In the field on horseback fighting like to Joshua | Josh. x. 12 |
| I may strike my breast as the Publican . . | Luke xviii. 13 |
| I may praise God walking as the lame man newly healed . . . . . | Acts iii. 8 |

I may and should indeed praise God when I am cheerfully disposed. We read that Aaron was sad for the death of his Children, when Moses reprehended him for not eating that day of the sacrifice: but he answered him in this manner, How can I eat or please God in the Ceremonies with a troubled mind? Soe saith the text,[4] Moses rested satisfied.

Any action is without offence in prayer if not hypocritical, but agreeable to a sound heart.

When there is no let or hindrance by sickness or any extraordinary impediment, I would advise to pray in the posture most

[4] *See* Levit. x. 1, 2, 12, 16, 20.

received among us as grave and humble, such as Kneeling, Lifting up of hands &c. Soe we bee devout it matters not if we kneel upon a cushion or bare boards, or bare knees. What helps unto Devotion is good, whatsoever hinders it is bad, though it have never so much a show of good.

## EJACULATIONS.

*At my first Waking.*

AWAKE, thou that sleepest! Arise from the dead, and CHRIST shall give thee light.

I acknowledge this day unto the LORD.

O LORD, prosper my endeavours, and grant whatever happens to me may tend unto Thy glory and my comfort.

*At Night.*

AS the night succeeds the day and the darkness light, soe will my death succeed my life and my grave my bed.

O LORD, to whome the day and night are both alike, have mercie on me.

I commend my Soule and all that is deare vnto me, vnto Thy Fatherly and Almighty protection.

*At my first kneeling in the Church or elswhere.*

I WORSHIP Thee, O GOD, that lives for ever, and I cast myselfe before Thy throne.

LORD, grante that I may now soe praise Thee as I may please Thee, and soe praye unto Thee that Thou mayst grant me my desires, for CHRIST JESUS sake. *Amen.*

*Before I Read.*

GIVE me understanding, O LORD, and I shall keep Thy Law, with all my heart I shall observe it.

Make me to understand the way of Thy precepts, soe shall I talke of Thy wondrous works.

*After I have Read.*

I AM Thine; O save me; I have sought Thy precepts.

*Winding up my Watch, hearing the Clock strike, &c.*

LIKE a shadow my time passes, and thus my daies are brought vnto an end like a tale that is told.

LORD have mercy upon me, now, and at y^e^ hower of my death.

A dear frend of mine, when he passed by a Cross, remembering thereby CHRIST crucified, thus said: —

The blessing of CHRIST's Cross go with me.

*A short Grace before Meat.*

SANCTIFIE, O LORD, these guifts to vs, and vs vnto Thyselfe, and make vs thankfull to Thee still for all, for CHRIST JESUS sake.

*After Meat.*

GOD'S Holy Name be ever blessd and praised for these and for all His other mercies to vs.

*Breakf[ast.]*

BENEDICTUS — benedicat.
Benedicto — benedicamus.

*At the Beginning of Devotion.*

OH, Thou that hearest Prayer, Assist me now in my Devotions, by the helpe of Thy blessed Spirit. Make me haue soe right a sense of my sinns that I may be humbled, and of Thy mercies that I may be raised. Make me tremble to consider Thee a most terrible GOD and make me againe rejoice to know Thee a most loving

Father. Make me zealous of Thy glorie and thankfull for Thy bounties. Make me know my wants and be earnest in my prayer. Make me have a present minde, and no cares, or thoughts or desires els where. Make me soe to Pray that I may obtaine of Thee releiffe of all my necessities and desires.

LORD make me soe to Pray
That Thou as I, may say,
*Amen.*

*A Short Morning Prayer.*

O LORD my GOD, I praise Thee for preserving me this night past and for all Thy bounties to me since I came into this world. My trust is in Thee for the time to come therefore I now begg of Thee to continue Thy favours to me. ffor Thy sonnes sake forgive me all my sinnes how many or how vile soe ere they be — it will be a glorious act of mercy — especially my sinnes of [ ] and [ ]. Make me pass this day holily and happily, that what I shall do or not do, may tend vnto the advancement of Thy glory and the perfection of my hopes.

Defend me from the violence of my Enemies, visible or invisible; from the snares of all that hate me.

May Thy fear bridle my passions and thy love inflame me with a desire to doe Thee service.

May I doe all good duties, especially the workes of charitie. May I heare good tidinges such as may chear my heart and make me right thankfull to Thee.

Keep me with Health and let it be well with me, whatsoever may concerne me, in soule and body, goods and good name. Keep me, my deer LORD, with life and health and joy and peace and safety for CHRIST JESUS' sake.

Fountain of all goodness, bless with Thy choicest blessings my deer wife and children, my friends and familie. Give a good success to my affairs, to all my endeavours and designes, w$^{ch}$ I beseech Thee may have theire chieffe intent to enable me better and to incite me more to praise and magnifie Thy name. And

particularly, O God I crave Thy assistance vnto [ ] in the management of my business concerning [ ].

Bless the Church, the King and all the Royall issue. Bless all Princes and People of the Earth as may be most for Thy glorie and the Worlds peace.

Let Thy Holy Angels pitch their tents about this Island. Preserve the persons of all the People in it. Protect, guard and comfort all those that now dwell with me. Save us from any sorrow, from any sickness or mischance.

Grant, O Lord, what I have asked, and what more Thou knowest may doe me good, for Thy Sonn our Saviour's sake, to whome with Thee and the Holy Ghost, (oh Blessed Trinitie) I give all glory and honour. *Amen.*

Our Father &c.

Blessed be God's glorious name for euer and euer. *Amen.*

Let the whole Earth be filled with His glory. *Amen.*

*A Short Prayer for the Night.*

OH Thou that never slumberst, Lord God of light and life, I beseech Thee take me to Thy Costodie, that I may be safe this night from the Prince of Darkness and Death.

Give me Thy grace that, as with care I lay aside my Clothes, whereby my body may be better fitted to take rest, soe alsoe I may be disrobed of all vicious habitudes, all ungodly desires and imaginations.

Let my body haue a good repose, but let my soule be waking still to Thee.

Let me haue a quiet sleep this night, undisturbed by any accident or unhappy chance, by any paine or sickness, by ill illusions or fearfull dreames, by approache of Enemies or sad tydeing of my frends, by any manner of evill vnto me or mine.

Let my Conscience repose in a still, calme, quiet, rest. Let my sinnes be all forgiven — those of the day past or of any other time of my life. Speak peace unto me and assure me, my deer Lord, of Thy salvation, for the Redeemer's sake.

Cover me with Thy mercies as the night is now covered with darkness. And as the Sun shall rise and give light to morrow, so may I be roused from all dullness and earthly affections and be better fitted then than ever to doe Thee service, faithfully and cheerfully, in the taske wch Thou hast appointed me.

Night and Day be Thou my God and I Thy servant. Be thou blessing me, and I praising Thee. Be Thou with me to the end of my life, that I may not sleep in Death, for Christ Jesus sake. *Amen.*

*Prayer and Meditation on the Lord's Prayer.*

OH Lord our God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him our most merciful and loving Father.

I magnify Thy great and Holy Name. I join with all Thine both in Heaven and Earth in setting forth Thy glorie.

Behold my confidence to approach vnto Thee, only in this regard that Thou art my Father; but behold my humilitye and feare because of soe great a distance between Thee and me, for Thou "art in Heaven" and I on Earth.

It is not that I know Thou art no where els, but no where els in so great a glorie. Thou art all that is good and powerfull, I nothing but naught and vanitie, therefore might I thinke it best to say nothing: But behold Thy mercies of old! Thou hast long agoe looked down upon me in great favour. Thou hast writt me in Thy booke before I was, therefore my lipps shall praise Thee.

Thou hast made man little lower than the Angells therefore I will praise Thee. Thou hast made me what I am, and what I must be, therefore will I praise Thee.

I will rejoice with Angells and Archangells and all the company of Heaven that laud and magnifie Thy Name.

It is reasonable that at the naming of Thy name all knees should bow, both of what is in Heaven and Earth: But because it may not be imagin'd how Angells can have knees as wee, or we to laud Thy Name as they, I understand thereby that neither men nor angells can give Thee praise enough, but angells and men are

bound to "Hallow Thy Name" with such knees of faith and humilitie, thankesgiving and charitie as Thou mayest be said to have eyes to behold the nations — eyes of Providence to watch over us — eyes of compassion to consider us — eyes of bountie to enrich us.

"Hallowed be Thy Name" — hallowed be Thy majestie — hallowed be Thy glorie, Thy Eternitie, Thyself, whom I fear, whom Angells fear, whom thrones and dominations adore. Whom to serve is the freest libertie; whom to trust is surest safetie; whom to praise is our own praise; whom to desire is the best love and with whom to dwell is perfect bliss. In Thy dwelling, in Thy kingdom, LORD, wee know are pleasures everlasting; that never can be taken from us; that are not to be expressed, and nothing can we desire that is good, but it is there in the highest perfection and degree.

Love we Light? There wee ourselves shall shine.

Love we Knowledge? There we shall know as we are known.

Love we Musique? There we shall hear Angells sing.

Desire we Dominion? There we shall Judge the Angells.

Would we have glorious Sightes and Showes? There we shall see the King of Glory and the glorie of His Kingdom.

O LORD, let me come once to this Kingdom: In the mean time I beseech Thee that "Thy Kingdom" may "come" to me.

Let Thy kingdom of grace come to me now, that hereafter I may come to the kingdom of Thy glorie.

LORD, have a kingdom in my heart, and a throne there for Thyself, where none but Thou mayest reigne — no Devill to domineer there any more — no vaine or vile affections as heretofore — no seat for Satan or any resting place for sinne.

If Temptations come there againe let them finde no entertainment, no welcome, no room, no companions, and that because I may be filled with Thyself. Soe having Thee I shall haue all things, and nothing shall happen to me that shall not be good and comfortable to me.

The Almighty who possesseth shall preserve me, and in life and death be my great advantage.

Now what remains unto me but to glory in the LORD? What have I more to do but to do His will? Which that I may I will implore His grace, that it may be done by me, and by all the World, "in Earth as it is in Heaven."

Wee know full well, O LORD, that Thy will must be done whether we will or no: But we also know that it is not done well for us, if wee be not thankfull for it, if we be not content therewith, however it be cross to our own wills.

Frame my will, therefore, O my GOD, to Thy will, that what Thou doest may please me, and so what I do shall please Thee.

In Adversitie give me patience; in prosperitie moderation and an humble heart: in both fortunes to be alway Thine. If flesh and blood make me presumptuously Expostulate and question Thy doings, y^t^ I should say — If the LORD be with us how then comes this to pass? — let me have Thy grace to make this good conclusion, after flesh and spirit have a little struggled, that however matters goe GOD will be good to Israell.

O LORD, when Thou takest ought from me that is deer unto me assure me that Thou purposest something better in the stead, or to restore me again the same with advantage at another time; soe I may wait willingly Thy leisure, when Thou thinkest it may be better and more convenient for me.

When Thou givest ought unto me give me therewith Thy grace, to lay myself and my guift thankfully before Thee, craving Thy blessing along with it; soe Thy favours accostoming me to delight in Thy praise may bring Thee alsoe to delight to doe me good.

I [cannot,] and none beside me can, praise Thee heer belowe as Thy Angells and Saints in Heaven do, yet we can strive as they do and we both but do our best: when we glorifie the LORD and exalt Him all we can, yet He will farr excede.

My heart is fixed, O GOD, my heart is fixed,
I will singe and give Thee praise.
I will thank the LORD for He is good,

His Mercy endures for Ever:
He gives Food to all flesh,
For His mercy endures for Ever.
The young Lions roare after their prey and seek their Meat from GOD — for His Mercy endures for ever.

He giveth to the Beast his food and to the young ravens when they cry — much rather will He give to Man the image of himself.

O LORD, I beseech Thee, give to me and mine and all Thine "this day Our Daily Bread." Give, to such of us as do hunger and have want of bread. Give Thy blessing to our bread in feildes, y^t^ the weather may be seasonable to make it growe and seasonable that we may gather it, and to that which is growing or w^ch^ is gathered that our Enemies do not take it from us. Give us Peace, dear GOD, and quietness at the eating of our bread, and when we have eaten it to digest it well for our health. Give with bread all other food and necessaries w^ch^ Thou knowest needfull for us both for the Comfort of our life and the enabling us to do Thee service.

O LORD our Strength, keep back no bounties, none of Thy good guifts and mercies from us — withhold not bread or any blessings — because of our Sinns; but save us for His sake who died for our sinns having Himself noe sin, who died for us even while we were His enemies, and commanded us for His sake to forgive our Enemies. LORD thou hast commanded us to forgive our enemies conditionally, declaring that by our love and charitie to one another Thou wilt judge of our love to Thee and will deal with us accordinglie, for on condition too on our part we beseech Thee to "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us."

Yet farr be it that we should limit Thee to our Forgiveness, for it often happeneth that while we repeat this Prayer wee reserve, that while, much malice in our hearts, therefore I beseech Thee for Thy forgiveness in its owne extent as much more full and absolute than ours, as Thou art Thyself more absolute than wee and Thy mercies more than ours.

In saying this petition wee seeme to beg a Curse if wee do not as we saie, yet being part of our Obedience, and that Thou hast

taught it, wee may not forbear it. Wee will hope that while the words are in our mouths, though they rise not wholly from our hearts, Wee blessing Thee with the mouth Thou wilt also blesse our hearts; And Thy grace will by degrees soe effectuallie work in them that though as yet wee forgive not soe very freely as we should yet we may forgive the most we can, until forgiving still more and more we may at last cast all Malice from our hearts.

O God, make known vnto my Enemies how much their Malice unto me displeaseth Thee. Make them ask Thee pardon, that Thou mayest forgive them, then make them seek my friendship, and make me embrace it [if Thou knowest it good for Thy glory and my comfort]. O make us both to please Thee, not only in forgiving one another for Thy sake, but in hasting and striving to perfect a blessed Peace.

Prevent, O Lord, the art and malice of the Devill, who by all sorts of temptations practiseth continually to make us all at oddes and to set our hearts on fire of mischieffe and would bring our souls at last to the fire of hell.

O Thou that temptest no man protect me against all temptation, yet Thou that sometimes leadest into temptation "lead us not" now "into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

If for manifestation of Thy power Thou wilt lead us into any sort of temptation, by which our weaknesses may be discovered, bring us safe back, by which we may see Thy mercies and Thy strength (which is the only meaning and intent of Thy leading into temptation), yet because of our frailties and infirmities or our exceeding fears and sorrows, which we commonlie do suffer while Thou seemest to forsake us, We beseech Thee haste to restore us to the light of Thy salvation and deliver us quickly from our evills, especially that of [ ].

Deliver me from the slaverie of sin, especially that of [ ] against the [ ] and [ ] commandments.

Save me from a troubled conscience — from the malice of my enemies and the unkindness of my friends — from sickness and paines — from dishonour and disgrace — from feare and follie —

from sorrow and sad tydings — from want and surfett — from all contagious diseases and unhappie accidents — from soddain death and from everlasting death.

O deliver me from all that Thou knowest to be hurtfull, discomfortable or inconvenient for me. And this because I implore Thee that art Lord of Heaven and Earth, "for Thine is the Kingdome;" because of Thine Almightiness, for Thine is "the Power;" because Thy servant purposeth to give Thee continuall Thanks as to whom only is due "the Glorie" and this while he has a being in this life, and in the life to come, even "for ever and ever. *Amen.*"

Blessed be God's glorious Name for ever and ever.

*Amen.*

Let the whole Earth be filled with His glory.

*Amen.*

*Prayer and Meditation upon the Wordes of the Creed.*

I, WHOM Thou hast form'd of Dyrt and to whome Thou hast said that I am dust,

Beleive.

Lord increase my faith!

"I beleive" Thee God, in God and none els. I rely wholly on Thee as my cheif good and at this instant I renounce any other hope or helpe. Lord grant that I may never waver in the belief of all Thy promises, but may evermore have my trust and confidence in Thee and be always defended by Thee.

Defend me O God as a Father carefull of his Child; give me comforts and blessings of this life and store up for me treasures in the life to come that so Heaven and Earth may know whom Thou dost list to bless are blessed — that the world may know that Thou art mine and that I am Thine; that the saints above may know that Thou art my Father and providest for me and that I as a sonn have an inheritance above.

When, Lord, by reason of the corruption of my nature I doe sin against Thee and provoke Thee to wrath, for Thy goodness sake forgive me; but if at any time Thou be resolved to correct

me, do it not in Thy fury, for who can abide Thy wrath? If Thou wilt strike, strike gentlie O Lord, not in anger but as an offended Father; not with purpose to destroy me but to humble me.

May I no sooner feel Thy stroke, or rather sooner, when I imagine Thee to be preparing and lifting up Thy hand to strike, than I may have grace to fall low before Thee, making good expressions of a right Repentance, and so beseech Thee of grace that Thy judgments may be prevented, and, submitting myself to Thy blessed will, Thou mayest have mercy upon me: Thou mayest raise me from my fears, Thou mayest burn Thy rod near as soon as Thou hast shewed it me; and, from that time forward I may alway feare Thee, not as those do who are despairing of Thy mercy and so too apprehensive of Thy punishments, to whom Thou appearest a most terrible and inexorable God, but with a filial fear, as a good Child that feares a good Father.

Almighty Lord, I beseech Thee to preserve me and mine from the malice of my Enemies who are many, powerful and cruel. Set Thy markes of favour on me and on my house as sometimes Thou didst upon the dore posts of the Israelites when the destroying Angell was to pass, that if wicked men or Devils, who are Thy scourges, doe come neer my dwelling they may knowe it vaine to strike Thou being our defence and shield.

Under the shadow of Thy wings I flie for refuge O Almightie God of power and glorie, before whom Hell is naked and destruction has no covering — before whom Angells hide their faces and the pillars of Heaven shake, who inhabitest Eternity, who had no beginning and never shall have end, who is the beginning and the end of all things, "Maker of Heaven and Earth."

Thou O God hast made all that is made — the Angells of heaven and the little worms on earth. It is not more possible that Thou shouldst create a worm than an Angell, nor more impossible for Thee to spread the heavens like a curtain than to form a leafe.

No hand but Thine could make a body so none but Thine can make a hair white or black.

O my Creator! when Thou madest me, how is it that I was not

made a stone, a tree, or a beast? Did any merits of mine prevent Thee? Was it not Thy goodness that had otherwise ordained? True, LORD, soe it was — soe Thou hadst appointed. Help me then, Thy Creature, whom of mercy Thou hast created, and suffer me not to perish through my sinn, whom of Thy goodness Thou hast fashioned, nor let me be confounded in my miserie, whom of Thy clemencie Thou hast made.

What profit is there in creating me if I go downe into mine own corruption? Hast thou, O GOD, created the sonns of men in vain? Hast Thou made me for nought? for nought if Thou destroyest me — and what profit canst Thou have in my destruction? Thy enemies will be glad. They will rejoice. Let them not rejoice O LORD; do not gratify Thine enemies by my destruction.

O comfort, govern and protect what Thou hast created: despise me not, my LORD, the work of Thine own handes, for JESUS CHRIST his sake Thy Sonne &c.

LORD, I have admired Thy POWER, and considered that all things both in heaven and in earth have reason to be amazed thereat; but when I see how great Thy LOVE is to the World, when I meditate on the Suffering of our Saviour, which is not to be told by men or Angels, I must lay my hand upon my mouth, for I have yet no more to say.

Astonished Soule! Meditate then awhile on what others say.

A certain devout man thinkeing on the sad and lamentable story of our Saviour's sufferings, supposed that he heard Pilate make relation thereof to the Emperor of Rome, thus speaking:

"In this Kingdom was a wonderfull strange man, his behaviour and bewty beyond all other in the world; his wisdom and discretion celestial; his gravity and soberness of carriage beyond all Comparison; his words mystical, and the grace wherewith he delivered them strooke his enemies with amazement; he was never seen to laugh but often to weep; he was never known to do harm to any but good to many; he healed incurable diseases, cast out devills, raised the dead, and did miracles above number.

"The Jews of envy to this man laid hold upon him and trampled

him under foot. I, saith Pilate, to appease their furie was faine to cause him to be scourged and when the people was about to mutinie, I condemned him to death, that shamefull death upon a cross, whereon he suffered. A little before he breathed his last, he desired of God to forgive his enemies, even those who without pity had nayled him to that Cross. Many prodigious signes were seen at his death, both in heaven and in earth — the sun was darkened, graves were opened, many dead arose.

"After he was dead a malicious Jew thrust a speare into his side, shewing in his death the great hatred the Jews did bear him in his life."

Thus saith another — and so say I.

"I beleive" the Godhead, sent of Thee O God, took on Him my humanity wherein He thought good to suffer Himself, to be bound and mocked and spett upon; to be buffetted and crucifyed, nayld and peircd.

"I beleive" also the same very Manhood which was troubled with the crying of Infancie, wrapped with the swaddling clothes of children; vexed with labours; weakened with fasting and watching; wearied with travelling, with scourgings, with punishments, and counted with transgressors, was by Thee, O God, raised gloriously from the Dead, carried to the joys of heaven and placed at the right hand of Thy Majestie as my Reconciler and my Reconciliation.

O Lord how excellent is Thy Name in all the world!

What is Man that Thou shouldst be soe mindfull of him? How is it that to me, the vilest and most unworthy among men, Thou shouldst shew such mercy — that Thou shouldst deliver my Soule from the lowest grave?

Honor, praise and glorie be to Thee, O God, the Life of my Soule, by which I live, without which I die.

Light of my Eyes! by which I see; without which I am blind. Joy of my Heart! Tower of my Strength! Lord of my Hopes! O Lord, I love Thee. I delight to love Thee. I desire to love Thee more and more. O my God inflame me with this love. It

is the best love. Thou only Thou, art the true Object of true Love.

I admire and adore Thee, Blessed Son of GOD! who was begotten from all Eternity of GOD the Father without a Mother, and for my sake and other sinners was pleased to descend from heaven to take upon Thee the nature of Man, in which Thou wert temporally conceived in Nazareth and born in Bethlehem, without a Father, of the most pure, holy and blessed Virgin, by the power of the Holy Ghost. Soe as that which exceedeth all admiration, the Word was made flesh, GOD became Man, and Blessed Mary was His Mother and a Virgin. I adore Thee, LORD JESUS CHRIST, Very GOD and Very Man, the Saviour of the People and the Anointed of the LORD; our Messias and High Priest, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily — Thou art my LORD, and LORD of all those that believe in Thee, as having delivered us, when we were lost, out of the bondage and thraldom of Satan, and Redeemed us, being subject to the yoke of sinn, from damnation.

I thanke Thee, Blessed JESU, for Thy holy precepts and example, for Thy miracles and Sacraments, for Thy bitter passion, that of Thy unparalleled love vnto us Thou wert content to endure the unjust judgment of the wicked Pontius Pilate, the extreme torments and opprobrious death of the Cross, to suffer a most cruel death. Thy Passion, Blood, Cross, Wounds and Death, were to yield Joy and Comfort, Health and Life, everlasting life and salvation, unto such as obey Thee — for to those Thou art the Author of eternal Life and Bliss.

I never can enough admire thy great Patience, O good JESU, to endure with such quietness when men mocked Thee at Thy death, spat upon Thee, strooke Thee, blindfolded Thee, crowned Thee with thorns, scourged Thee, crucified Thee, so that three long howres the weight of all Thy bodie was held up with nayles which were strook through Thy hands and feet. O my Soul! was it not for thy Salvation — was it not that by His suffering thou mightest escape the punishment due to thee for thy sinnes?

Dear Saviour! make me henceforward to hate all sin since it has caused such evill to Thee, and make me ashamed to sinn against Thee when I consider how much Thou hast done for me.

Make me leave the love of sin when I remember the obligations I have to Thee, my JESUS; O make that my darling sins may no more be so much in my affections as they have been: And, if possible, to abandon sin so willingly that I may [give] no more of my love to it [or] wish that any sin were not a sin. But of my love to JESUS, may I soe live to love Him and be so consumed in that flame that it may become my chief good and delight; and that I may be much unsatisfied with myself for that I give not more witnesses of my loving Him. And this, until the time that I may see Him face to face whom my Soul hath loved, and then and there to have my love pure and perfect, and a perfect joy of my love unto all Eternity.

Thou that suffered Thyself to "suffer under Pontius Pilate," give me Thy grace that for Thy sake I may be content to suffer such afflictions as may befall me, and when I think my sorrows great let me consider, how, for my sake Thou became a man of sorrows, and that all Thy whole life was a martyrdom.

And if my sins bring such temptations on me that my frailties doe shake my Faith, be near, O GOD, to help me, and so oft as I remember Thee of Thy Cross and Passion, and do aske Thee for Thy sufferings' sake to save me, make haste to my relief.

Never may I forget the Love of my LORD unto the World; that when these cursed ones did nail His hands and feet unto the Cross and going on in cruelties did wound Him with a speare to His very heart, they derided Him and said, "Save Thyself now, if Thou beest GOD;" our blessed LORD did shew unto the world how little He had of man (not regarding Himself, for our sakes) and prayed for His enemies while they tortured Him. And although He was soon able to have saved Himself and [to] have punished them, yet would He finish the work of our salvation by His sufferings not only in torment but unto death. LORD hadst Thou saved Thyself who then could have been saved? Had not JESUS our

Redeemer suffered, who could have escaped the sad sentence, that every soul that sinned should Die? Had not the pure hands of that Just and Holy One been lifted up upon the Cross, who would have dared (as I do now) to lift up polluted hands towards GOD's mercy seat?

Had not His feet been fastened to the Cross, Who should have led our feet into the way of Peace?

Had not His side been pierced, where had our sins been hidden?

Had not a Way been made into His heart, which way had we come to the fountain of Life?

Had not He died once, we all had died for ever!

LORD of Life! Who was "dead" upon the Cross thereby to procure us Life, Grant that by virtue of Thy Death I, that have been dead in trespasses and sins, may now be restored to Thy saving health.

I believe that Thou wast "buried," and "descended into Hell," to shew Thyself there a Conqueror over Death and Devills. Thy soul was not left in hell: the "third day" Thou didst "rise again from the dead," and Ascended into heaven, by virtue of which I beseech Thee, LORD, that I may rise from vice to virtue, from the death of sin to the life of grace, that He that raised up JESUS may also raise me up with JESUS.

Thou that after finishing the work of Redemption appeared again alive unto Thy Disciples and at the end of forty days "Ascended into heaven," to sit there "at the right hand of GOD," exercising equal power with the Father and governing all things, shining with Divine Majesty (which is "to sit at the right hand of GOD") Grant that Thy going thither may be for my Everlasting good for that Thou hast provided an eternal mansion for me.

LORD, when Thou shalt descend in human flesh from the highest Heaven and shalt sit in dreadful doome "judging" all the world, and shalt render unto every man according to his works, magnifie Thyself by Thy mercy towards me. Condemn me not because of my many filthy and haynous sins, but save me because of Thine own merits which, to Thy eternal praise and

my everlasting salvation, Thou mayest declare to be sufficient for me.

I praise Thee, "Holy Ghost," whom I acknowledge to be the Third Person in the Deity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, co-equal to both, true God, and to be worshipped in the same faith, with equal honour and adoration.

O Thou who art the pledge of our Inheritance, the helper of our infirmities, and who divides Thy divers guifts to man according to Thy will, Have Mercie on me!

Be it Thy good pleasure to forgive me my sins and follies; give me of Thy grace and wisdom to live holily and happily hereafter, to Thy praise and to Thy Servant's comfort. Make me holy, because Thou art holy — so shall I have God for my Father and the Church [for] my Mother. I shall be a member of "the Holy Catholique Church" — one of the universal company of those who have bin, are, and shall be, gathered in one body, knitt in one faith, influenced by one Spirit, under one Head, Jesus Christ.

O God who art the God of Peace in all the Churches of the Saints grant me a large portion in the Prayers of all Thy "Saints."

O Thou to whom it belongs to "forgive Sins," have mercy on me now, in the land of the living, that when the Day of Judgment shall come, and the books of each man's conscience shall be opened, when it shall be said of me, "Behold the Man and his Workes," when Heaven shall revaile my iniquitie and Earth rise up against me, then may my Saviour's merits step between me and my heavy doome, that He who died for me may plead for me, and that He who shall then be my Judge may also be my Advocate.

O my Redeemer my trust is in Thee. I assure myself of Thy mercy as of Thy all sufficiency: nothing can make me doubt thereof; but I do believe that in the last Day I shall rise from the earth and be compassed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall with comfort see Thee my God, my Saviour, my All. By the virtue of Whose sufferings and merits I shall escape the sentence

of the reprobate, who are to remain eternally in torment of body and anguish of mind in a dungeon figured in Scripture by utter darkness — the blackness of darkness — weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth — the worm that dies not, and the fire that goes not out.

I shall have life everlasting through JESUS CHRIST in heaven, I shall dwell in the company of innumerable saints and angels. Everlastingly I shall be blessed and glorious both in soul and body, free from any imperfection or infirmitie — even from the graces which imply infirmities as Faith, Hope, Repentance, and such like. I shall possess a new heaven and a new earth. I shall be filled with the fruition of GOD's glorious presence, and evermore enjoy all the unspeakable pleasures at the right hand of GOD. I shall not need to eat or sleep for CHRIST our Head and Redeemer shall be instead of All.

GOD the Father, GOD the Sonn, GOD the Holy Ghost,
shall be my glory.

It is a question among many whether in Heaven we can know one another, but it were much better to leave such questions and seek more carefully to ensure our coming thither. Yet, O my Soul, thou shalt not fear to have that contentment among the rest, for it is as likely that in that blessed state we shall see and know those that we have never seen nor known before as that Adam in his Innocencie, in the earthly paradise, knew Eve at first sight and gave her a Name. Or when S^t^ Peter at our Saviour's Transfiguration in the Mount knew Moses and Elias whom he had never seen. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O thou City of GOD. They that dwell in thee are like those that sing. The kingdom of Heaven is a most happy kingdom. It is eternal, everlasting, where time does not succeed by ages nor does night follow day.

Great happiness it is to be joined to the Quires of Angels and Archangels and all the celestial powers, to behold the Patriarchs and Prophets, to see the Apostles of CHRIST, our Parents, our

Friends and all the Saints; but the chief of all to see our most glorious God face to face.

In heaven we make no account of earth, nor need we vouchsafe to remember the vale of tears, where little is but humours that do puff and swell and then sorrows again pluck down.

My heart now burneth, and my spirit is inflamed, with a desire of a sight of Thee, my God, and of Thy Kingdom. I love Thee, O my God; I long for Thee; I am delighted to think upon Thee. All flesh I know must come to Thee, and as for my Pilgrimage it is toward Thee; O put not back Thy mercy from me.

Let my spirit take the Eagle's wings — let it soar and not be weary until it come unto the place where Thine honour dwelleth. *Amen.*

*On the anniversary-day of the death of my Child.*
*This I made upon the death of my dear Son James.*

[See Diary.]

RACHEL wept for her Children and refused to be comforted, because they were not. *Jerem.* xxxi. 15.

But King David hearing his Child was dead rose from the earth, (whereon he lay a long time mourning) washed and anointed himself, changed his apparell and came into the house of God and worshipped.

He said, While the Child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; for I said who can tell whether God will be gracious unto me that the Child may live? But now that he is dead, why should I fast?

Can I bring him back againe?

I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me. 2 *Sam.* xii. 20, &c.

As Rachel did, so did I once. I refused to be comforted.

As David did so must I do now—patiently cast off my Mourning, for my Child is dead:

Because he can no more return.

Because I must go to him.

Yet did David lament Saul and Jonathan saying, "The beauty of Israel is slain upon high places; how are the mighty fallen. O tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askalon, &c., ye mountains of Gilboa let there be no dew nor rain upon you, &c.

"Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided.

"I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women."

And for Absolom,

He was not a little moved, when, retiring to a Chamber over the gate, he wept, and said, "O my son Absolom, my son, my son Absolom, would God I had died for thee, O Absolom, my son, my son."

Behold now I bow before Thee in all humilitie, acknowledging in Thee a power to save and to kill, to bring down and to raise up; to do what likes Thee best, and none must ask Thee why. Nothing in this world comes to pass without Thy counsell or without Thy Providence, or without a good cause why. Now that I consider, it is well for me that Thou hast humbled me. Thou better knowest what is good for us, than we do for ourselves.

Thou hast taken my sonne unto Thyself because it was best for him.

He was like an Angell with us.

He is now an Angell with Thee.

His conversation was amongst sinners while he was with us.

He is now amongst Saints, and he is a Saint.

He was subject upon earth to the troubles and infirmities of this life.

Now he reigns a King in Heaven, where is honour and health, holiness and happiness, for evermore.

Shall I wish him here again, because I love him?

No! I am content where he is, because I love him.

It were an ill change to leave Heaven for Earth,

To quit Everlastingness for Mortalitie;

To leave the Holy of Holies for us weak, wretched and miserable sinners.

O let not the Lord be angry that I speak a little more; It shall be but a little more. The thoughts of this day have made me feel that it is not with me as yesterday. The remembrance of [my dead child] is grievous unto me. Lord, comfort me now, and to the end of my life, with a comfortable expectation of a blessed meeting with my [child] in the last day, the day of Jesus Christ, with Whom may we then rise into Everlasting Glory. *Amen.* Glory be to the Father, &c.

*A Thanksgiving for Deliverance from our Enemies, March 4th* 1642.

[See Diary.]

THE Lord is my Strength and my Song. *Ex.* xv. 2.

The Lord is a Man of Warr. *Ex.* xv. 3.

Thy Servant hath found grace in Thy sight, that hast magnified Thy mercy in saving of my life. *Gen.* xix. 19.

By Thee I have broken through a troop. *Ps.* xviii. 29.

Is any thing too hard for God? *Gen.* xviii. 14.

The right hand of God is glorious in power; the right hand of God hath dashed my Enemies in pieces. *Ex.* xv. 6.

When wicked enemies came vpon me, to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. *Ps.* xxvii. 2.

Now shall God lift up my head above my enemies round about me. *Ps.* xxvii. 6.

Whenever I call upon Thee, my enemies shall be put to flight; this I know for God is on my side. *Ps.* lvi. 9.

Glorie be to the Father &c.

*A Meditation for June* 15 *and July* 30, *when my Wife and I came into the Isle of Man.*

[See Diary.]

GIVE glory to the Lord and declare His praise in Islands. *Isai.* xlii. 22.

The LORD is King, the Earth may be glad thereof, yea the multitude of the Isles may be glad thereof. *Psal.* xcvii. 1.[5]

Sing unto the LORD a new song, and His praise from the end of the Earth.

Yea that go into the Sea and all that is therein, the Isles and the Inhabitants thereof

Let the Inhabitants of the Rock sing, let them showte from the topps of mountains. *Isai.* xlii. 10.

Who are those that fly as clouds and as Doves to the windows?

The Isles shall wait for Me and the ships of Tarshish; first to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them unto the Name of the LORD thy GOD, and the Holy One of Israel, for He hath glorified thee.

And the sons of the Strangers shall build vp thy walles and their Kings shall minister unto thee: for in My wrath I smote them but in My favour I had mercy on Thee. *Isai.*, lx. 8, 9, 10.

Hear the word of the LORD, O ye Nations, and declare [it] in the Isles afarr off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him and keep him, as a Shepherd doth his flock.

For the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and ransomed him from the hand of him that was stronger than he.

Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flowe together to the goodness of the LORD, for wheat and for wine and for Oile and for the young of the flock and of the herd; and their Soules shall be as a watered garden: and they shall not sorrow any more at all.

Then shall the Virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together: for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them and make them rejoice from their sorrow.

And I will satiate the Souls of the Priests w$^{th}$ fatness, and My people shall be satisfied with My goodness, saith the LORD. *Jerem.* xxxi. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

LORD, Thou shalt not need to say to us as heretofore, I will send

[5] *Prayer Book version.*

a fire on Magog, and among them that live carelessly in the Isles; and they shall know that I am God: *Ez.* xxxix. 6.

for

This Isle shall wait on Thee and on Thy Arm shall trust. *Isai.* li. 5.

O God be gracious and propitious to this Isle; be Thou faithfully obeyed here; be bountiful to the People in good guifts both of Sea and Land.

Let no Sickness infect them, nor any Enemy prevail against them: keep our enemies far from us; let them never assault us; let them not so much as summon us; let them noe more intend or contrive ill against us, but even make them cease to menace us. That soe we may plainly see how Thou ceasest not to hear our prayers and to bless us. And we, in thankfulness will never cease to give Thee praises for these obligations, by which Thy mercies and bounties bind us.

Incline the hearts of the People to Thy fear and a chearfull obedience of Thy laws and the laws of the Land, under the happy Government of me, and mine after me till the world's end. Make us all live long in this world with great Comfort, and in the world to come with great glorie — for Christ Jesus' sake. *Amen.*

*Concerning the Blood which fell upon my Booke: for the 22d Sept.* 1647.

I have thought good to shew the signes and wonders that the High God hath wrought towards me. *Dan.* iv. 2.

It is fit that I remember the workes of God.

I will remember His wonders of old. *Ps.* lxxvii. 11.

He that promised to shew wonders in the heavens and in earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoake. *Joel* ii. 30.

He did please, for some good unto me, that blood fell strangely on my book, while I was reading late alone, in the dead of night, being at that time very sad and pensive. Lord, wilt Thou make Thy wonders known in the darke? *Ps.* lxxxviii. 12. Wilt Thou shew Thy wonders to the dead? *Ps.* lxxxviii. 10.

LORD, let this which thus happened be a token of Thy favour to me, as to Israel, saying

The blood shall be to you for a token upon the house where you are, and when I see the blood I will pass-over you, and the plague shall not be upon you, to destroy you, when I smite the land. *Ex.* xii. 13.

And shall be to you a Memoriall and you shall keep it a feast unto the LORD.

Glorie be to y^e^ Father and to the Sonn and to y^e^ Holy Ghost.

As in the beginning, is now, and shall be evermore.

*A Meditation which I made when the Tydeings were brought to me of the Delivering up LATHUM HOUSE to the Enemies after a long Siege; my Servants having kept the same very handsomely, till all the Provisions were spent. Alsoe I had other ill Newes of the Affaires in England. This may be read on the . . . . . .*

DOTH the Oxe low over fodder?[6]

Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass? *Job.* vi. 5.

Is my strength the strength of stones, or is my flesh of brass? *Job.* vi. 12.

My strength[7] is hunger-bitten. *Job.* xviii. 12.

Wherefore came I forth out of the womb? To see labor and sorrow? That my dayes should be consumed with shame. *Jerem.* xx. 18.

I have seen servants upon Horses, and Princes walking on the Earth like servants.[8] *Eccles.* x. 7.

They that fed delicately are now desolate in the streets, and they that were brought up in Scarlet now imbracing dung-hills.[9] *Lam.* iv. 5.

[6] "or loweth the ox over his fodder?"

[7] "His strength shall be"

[8] "walking as servants on the earth."

[9] "They that did feed delicately are desolate in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills."

Surely men of low degree are vanitie and of high degree a lye. *Ps.* lxii. 9.

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O that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me. *Job.* xxix. 2.

Now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose Fathers I would have disdained to set[10] with the doggs of my flocke. *Job.* xxx. 1.

My kinsfolk have failed me[11] and my familiar friends have forgot me. *Job.* xix. 14.

I am forgott[en] as a dead man out of mind. I am become like a broken vessell.[12] *Ps.* xxxi. 12.

My lovers and my friends, my kinsfolke and my neighbours, stand all aloofe from my sore.[13] *Ps.* xxxviii. 11.

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The things that my soule refused to touch are now[14] my sorrowfull meate. *Job.* vi. 7.

When I say my bed shall comfort me, my couch shall ease my complaint, then am I feared with dreames and terrified with visions.[15] *Job.* vii. 17.

How long shall I take counsell in my soule, having sorrows in my heart. *Ps.* xiii. 2.

My[16] soul is bowed down to the dust. *Ps.* xliv. 25.

I have said unto corruption thou art my Father; to the worme, thou art my mother and my sister. *Job.* xvii. 14.

[10] "to have set"

[11] "me" added.

[12] *Ps.* xxxi. 14, *Prayer Book version.*

[13] "My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore; and my kinsmen stand afar off." *Bible version.*

[14] "are as"

[15] "then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions." *Job* vii. 13, 14.

[16] "Our"

Thy pomp is brought down into the grave and the noise of [thy] vyolls, the worme is spread under thee, and worms do cover thee. *Isai.* xiv. 11.

Thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of [the] dust. *Isai.* xxix. 4.

If I wait the grave is mine house; in darkness have I made my bed.[17] *Job.* xvii. 13.

I have gone mourning without the sunn.[18] *Job.* xxx. 28.

We grope for the wall like the blind; we stumble at noon-day; we roar like bears, and we mourn like doves. *Isai.* lix. 11.

Our holy and beautifull house, where our Fathers praised Thee, is burnt with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste. *Isai.* lxiv. 11.

I have forsaken my House; I have left my heritage; I have given the dearly beloved of my soule to the hands of Enemies. [19]

My heritage is now to me like a Lion[20] in the forest; it cries out against me. *Jerem.* xii. 7, 8.

The cormorant and bittern [shall] possess it, the owle also and the raven [shall] dwell in it, the line of confusion[21] is stretched upon it and the stones of emptiness. *Isai.* xxxiv. 11.

An habitation it is for Dragons and a Court for Owles, the Satyr cries to his fellow, the screech Owle takes her nest there. *Isai.* xxxiv. 13, 14.

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O how sits the city solitary, which was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces. *Lam.* i. 1.

Her adversaries are the Chief, her enemies prosper. *Lam.* i. 5.

Her Princes are become as harts that find no pasture. *Lam.* i. 6.

[17] "I have made my bed in the darkness."

[18] "I went mourning without the sun."

[19] "into the hand of her enemies."

[20] "is unto me as a lion"

[21] "he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion,"

Mine eyes, mine eyes, run down with water, because the Comforter which should relieve my soul is far from me; my Children are desolate because the enemy prevailed. *Lam.* i. 16.

Is it nothing to you that pass by? *Lam.* i. 12.

Behold the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and yet we are not saved. *Jerem.* viii. 20.

Is there no Balm in Gilead? *Jerem.* viii. 22.

O Lord have mercy on me! Consider what I suffer of them that hate me. *Ps.* ix. 13.

Be Thou my refuge in this time of trouble. *Ps.* ix. 9.

As for them — reward them according to their deedes; recompense them after the workes of their own hands, and pay them what they have deserved. *Ps.* xxviii. 4, 5.

*A Prayer.*

ALMIGHTY God! Thou art from everlasting, and Thou alone art good. Whatever hath been made was made in time and hath but a time; but Thou, Lord, madest time and shalt bless me and mine and all Thine when time is no more. Behold now I renounce any trust in man. I acknowledge all my good from Thee and hope of no good from created beings.

I give Thee praise O God, for all my good things, for all the benefits I have had, confessing they have not come to me by chance, nor by any craft of mine, nor by the help or strength of any in this world, but by Thy goodness only, whose Providence hath preserved me.

By Thy love and power I was created and made after Thine own image, and Thou hast given me a capacitie of Immortalitie.

Thou madest me a comfort to my parents so soon as I was born, and Thou hast been a comforter to me ever since.

When first I came into the world and cried, Thou hadst compassion on me, and from that time to this I have had good experience of Thy love, especially, Lord, when Thou hast heard my prayers and cries and granted me my requests. Evermore grant me tokens of Thy love.

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I thank Thee for my Baptism, and Education in the Christian religion.

I thank Thee for Jesus Christ Thy Son, for His sufferings, His doctrine, His example, His merits, and His continual Intercession and Advocation with Thee for me.

I thank Thee for Thy Blessed Spirit, the enlightener of my Understanding, the comforter of my conscience, the seal of my salvation.

I thank Thee for the liberty of Thy Holy Word and Sacraments in this Land.

O Lord, I thank Thee for this Island which hath bene to me a very blessed and happy place of retreat from the storms and inconveniences of War, which many better than myselfe have suffered in the three Kingdoms about us.

I give Thee thanks, O Lord — I never enough can thanke Thee, O Lord — for preserving my soul from the trouble and danger of taking the many Oathes that have been pressed on very many against theire consciences, and for which divers of Thy servants have suffered martyrdom.

O Lord, I thank Thee for the plentifull seasons we have had, by which I have not only fed and clothed myself and familie but have releived many strangers which have bene distressed. O Lord, Thou hast given me much honor here, therefore whilst I live and have a being I will to the utmost of my power give Thee glory.

Gracious God! I beseech Thee to continue Thy blessings to this land and people. Make me and mine after me to Govern them and theirs wisely and peaceably, even till the world ends.

I thank Thee for my deliverance from the hostilities of the Devill and his wicked instruments, and that Thou hast preserved me very often from the fury of the Sword.

But most especially I give Thee praise for Thy admirable preservation of my Wife, of some of my Children, and many of my Friends, from the cruell and most bloody desires of my enemies in the time of Lathum Seige, in the year sixteen hundred forty-four.

O that I had an Angel's tongue and might never wearie in num-

bering Thy mercies, that I might thank Thee in some better manner and might call to mind more readily all Thy favours towards me.

O Lord, I beseech Thee, give me some more companions who may help me, and delight with me, to recount the times of Thy deliverances — from sickness and sadness; slanders and injuries; shame and disgraces; fears and falls; pains and imprisonments; from perishing by fire, by water, by hunger and cold. From these trials, O Lord, and from any such, I beseech Thee still to deliver me, for Christ His sake.

Let me also, of Thy goodness, have more company of those that may rejoice with me, to remember and recount the times that Thou didst gladden our hearts — as when Thou grante[d]st our requests; when Thou hast sent us plentie of Thy good guifts and blest our stores; when we have had good tydings of the conversation of those that have been dear to us; and when we have done that which, by Thy blessing, hath got us honour and reputation.

Let me never forget Thy great goodness, O my God, in having made me soe exceeding happy with a blessed Wife, and with many sweet and hopeful children.

Above all, may I rejoice to call to mind when I have been grateful to Thee, my God, and have praised Thee at the times of my devotions, and that Thou, my Lord, hast heard my prayers.

Holy Father! fill my heart more and more with Thy Praise that it may be an earnest to me now of my praising Thee hereafter with Thy Saints above.

Assure me, blessed Lord, from this instant of time that Thou art propitious unto me, and make me Thy thankful servant, wearing the marks and badges of Thy liverie, such as faith and knowledge; charitie and patience; humilitie and hope; constancie, temperance, and obedience; wisdom to live safely and with honor; grace to live holily and contented; and when I must live no more, to die quietly and willingly, with my senses unclouded and amongst my friends. And when I am dead, let my soul ascend to its place, where the souls of Thy saints are, and there with

them to sing Hallelujahs and songs of Praise to the glory of Thy Name, and to partake of Thy Everlasting Joys. *Amen.*

*For the* 15 *August* 1650.
*When* GOD *preserved me from the danger of a Cannon Shot.*

HE that is mighty hath done great things for me. The LORD is my strength and my shield; my heart hath trusted in Him and I am helped, therefore my heart danceth for joy and in my song I will praise Him. *Ps.* xxviii. 8.

The LORD killeth and maketh alive; He bringes down to the grave and brings up. 1 *Sam.* ii. [6.]

Thou, LORD, hast brought my Soul from hell; Thou hast kept my life from them that go down into the pit. *Ps.* xxx. 3.[22]

Out of the horrible pit hast Thou brought me; out of the mire and clay, and set my feet upon a Rock and ordered my goings. *Ps.* xl. 2.

They that goe downe into the Ships[23] and prosecute their businesses in great waters, these men see the works of GOD. *Ps.* cvii. 23, [24.]

The eyes of all men wait upon Thee, O GOD. *Ps.* [civ. 27.]

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I will lift up my eyes unto the hills from whence help comes. *Ps.* cxxi. 1.

My help comes from the LORD w^ch^ hath made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved, and He that keepeth thee will not sleep.

Behold He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The LORD Himself is thy Keeper. The LORD is thy Defence upon thy right hand.

So that the sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night.

[22] *Prayer Book version.*
[23] "They that go down to the Sea in Ships" — *Bible and Prayer Book versions.*

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil: yea it is even He that shall keep thy soul.

The Lord shall preserve thy going out and coming in, from this time forth for evermore. *Ps.* cxxi.

Also the 91st Psalm.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Sonn, and to the Holy Ghost: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for my Wife.*

MOST gracious God! fountain of all good! I praise Thee for Thy bountie in having given me a Wife soe much according to my heart.

I beseech Thee to give her of the choicest of Thy blessings continually, and to make us both at all times to delight in praising Thee that Thou mayest delight in blessing us.

For Christ His sake forgive her all her sinnes.

For Christ His sake grant her all her prayers.

For Christ His sake give her all that Thou knowest may be necessary for her, both for the comfort of this life and of the life to come.

Save her, O God, from all her enemies. Heretofore Thou hast saved her, and that with admirable preservation, especiallie at the Seige of Lathum. O Lord of Hosts, the benefits and honors she there received shall be acknowledged, and ascribed to Thee, in all places, both by her, and by me, and by all that are our's.

Save her from sickness, from sorrow, from trouble of mind, and from any manner of disquiet.

Prolong her daies in health, honor and happiness: grant that while we live we may be as one soule, without any discontent or disagreement.

Everliving God! when she hath done Thee much service in this world, grant her great glory in Thy kingdom. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for my Children.*

HEAVENLY Father! make me all my life long to rejoice in the blessings of Thy right hand — even my dear Children.

As they grow in yeares so may they grow in wisdom, and in grace, and in favor with Thee and man.

Give them strength of body, honor, joy, health, wealth, length of days, and all the blessings of this life, which Thou knowest to be comfortable, necessary or needful for them.

Let their chief delight be in Thy praise, and lead them to accustom themselves to the obedience of Thy commandments.

Send them friends that may be faithful counsellors and wise companions, to strengthen them against dangers, and to join with them in a happy and holy life.

Defend them, O my LORD, from all the wiles and temptations of the Devill, the World, and the Flesh; from follies and disgraces of any sort; from mischances and sicknesses, and especially from sudden death.

And when their days must end here, give them everlasting life with Thee, the everliving GOD. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for the King,*
*and*
*Concerning the Enemies of God and the King.*

O KING of Kings! bless Thy servant our Sovereign Lord the King. Give him health and honour. Give him graces answerable to his calling. Give him the blessings of this world long, and of that which is to come, for ever. Give him an understanding heart, a holy heart, a bold heart, a glad heart, a wise Counsell, good friends and faithful servants.

Deliver him from his Father's enemies and seat him shortly in his Father's Throne. Give him good success in all his affairs, and let no weapon or design formed against him ever prosper.

Consider with compassion, O our GOD, the miserable condition of Thy servants in these our days: have regard unto the cries of

those that are trampled on by Thy enemies, especially [ ] and his confederates.

The sinns we did commit when we enjoyed Peace have made Thee to withdraw Thyself and Thy wonted blessings from us. LORD, let Thy mercy now appear in showing to the world that Thy anger doth not last for ever. Shew Thyself GOD betimes, to our comfort who pray, and to their terror who persist in evil purposes against Thee, Thy Church and People.

Is it not time, O LORD, that Thou shouldst rise to maintain Thine own cause. Behold their swords drunk with our blood! Behold us and many more that are numbered to the slaughter! Behold our goods divided amongst the Robbers! Behold our women cast out of their pleasant places! Behold Thy Sanctuary profaned, the place where Thy honour dwelt defiled!

Look upon Prisoners — behold my daughters prisoners! Look on them that are in irons. Look on the insolencies and the cruelties used against us by a most unrighteous, perfidious, disloyal people, that still boast of mischief.

How long, O LORD! O LORD, how long?[24]

O shew some tokens of Thy favour to us that call upon Thy Name. Shew some tokens of Thy anger against them that delight in blood — that say to their souls, "Take ease, rejoice in your ways; fear not; there is no GOD that will oppose or punish" — that make a mock of Thee, O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, and that goe about still with triumphs, blasphemies, and lies, to weaken Thy poor people's faith.

LORD! LORD! bring down their pride; confound their devices; make them afraid, ashamed and astonished, and that speedily, with some sudden, strange, unexpected Judgment, that they may now know themselves to be but men, and of the vilest sort of men, and so of the weakest. Make them unable any more to help themselves; and in that great Amazement may they look up to Thee with a high sense and sorrow of their vile misdoings, with right repentant hearts, denying themselves, and resolved to cease from

[24] Rev. vi. 10.

their wicked purposes. Soe by such change in them Thou, in mercy, mayest shew them Thy compassions, which are never failing unto those that seek Thee.

But if they still resolutely hold on in their wicked purposes and contrivances, make their own labours to work their own confusions, and lead every one of them to oppose each other.[25]

As for soe many as have cause to be under terror and apprehension of their tyranny, I beseech Thee for CHRIST JESUS' sake, to deliver them by Thy comfortable mercies, to save them by Thy defences, to assure them by joyful tydings, to raise them by Thy favour and to shield them by Thy protection. O give us, good GOD, Thy grace to pass the remaine of our life in days of peace, especially in this poor Island, that so Thy strength may appear in our weakness and Thy favour in a time of need. And as our prayers have prevailed to our happiness so our praises may avail unto Thy glory — the glorie of Thee on whom we wait, and to whom we acknowledge to be truly due all glorie, praise and honor. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for the Church.*

[ALMIGHTY GOD! I beseech Thee to] Bless Thy Holy Catholick Church, that it may spread over all the world, to the glory of Thy Name. Confound all wicked purposes against her and her children, either by the Devill or his accursed instruments. Turn from us all the plagues that our crying sins might justly call for.

Comfort our brethren that are distressed by sickness, banishment, and imprisonment, (especially my Daughters and their followers); those that are in want of food and necessaries; those that are in grief, fears and dangers; those that apprehend harm to soul or body, goods and good name, especially [ ], and all those of Thy servants that are my dear and familiar friends.

O LORD be at hand to help all them that are true of heart, that suffer for a good conscience, because they will not sin against Thee,

[25] See Judges vii. 22.

or, are afflicted with an evil conscience, because they have sinned against Thee. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for my Servants.*

I BESEECH Thee, Gracious God! to blesse all the members of my family with health of soul and body. Grant that they may be useful and comfortable to me in their severall callings and services. Lord, give Thy grace to us all to be serviceable and faithful fellow-servants unto Thee, the best and chief Lord and Master. Give to every one of us according to our severall necessities, and hear our prayer, evermore, when we cry unto Thee.

Grant to each and all of them Thy blessing of good success in all the affairs they manage, and which are committed to their charge, on my behalf.

I thank Thee for all the benefits which I receive by them, and I beseech Thee to enable me to reward them.

I thank Thee also for the many of them whom Thou hast saved in their Sickness and Distress, when we have earnestly prayed unto Thee on their behalf, and I beseech Thee, of Thy grace, that we [may] perform all our vows of praises and thanks unto Thee.

Let us all live, Lord, in Thy fear, soe shall my House be a house of Prayer, and not as a Den of thieves, or as a Cage of unclean birds. Provide preferments for us all, O Lord! not according to our services, which are unprofitable at the best; but according to the merits of Thy Sonne our Saviour, in whom alone is our sufficiencie. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for my Friends.*

O GOD, the Friend of Abraham, be Thou my Friend and increase the number of my friends on earth, and grant that they may be constantly of great comfort and an advantage to me in all my fortunes.

I give Thee great praise, O God, that Thou hast heretofore enabled me to find many friends even among my enemies; soe doe

again, O Lord! in spight of any opposition by envy, hatred, malice, or uncharitableness.

Advise me still in the choice of friends, and never suffer me to be deceived by them, nor they by me. Bless them all! most especially those that are dearest to me and most useful for me; of that number I ask Thee more particularly to bless [ ]. O give them all happy, holy and long lives in this world, and everlasting salvation in the world to come. *Amen.*

*For particular Friends.*

O LORD! give health, peace, and gladness of heart to [ ], and give me my desired comforts of them. They are individuals that have a more tender regard of my person than many others of my friends here, and in that regard I have more particular passion of affection and gratefulness unto them.

Therefore, I beseech Thee, O Lord, I beseech Thee earnestly for Christ Jesus' Sake, to bless them with some extraordinary [spiritual] benefit which may rejoice them, which may occation them to rejoice in Thee, and to make haste to tell it to me, that so we may be glad together and praise Thy Name together. Lord, grant my prayer, and give us comfort long of a cheerful conversation, and let no cross or disturbance interrupt the same, so shall we rejoice in Thy bounties and delight in Thy praises, from this time even to the end of time. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for my Enemies.*

MY Lord, my Strength! I beseech Thee save me from the malice of my Enemies. Either assist me to obtain Victory over them or make them, of Enemies, to become my Friends, soe that we both may become Thy servants, and having perfect charity one towards another, Thou mayest have more mercy for us both.

And because I am taught that it displeaseth Thee when we live in hatred, and that we sin against our own Souls, when we seek to spight our foes; I will lay aside my wonted malice, and according

to Thy council and command, in Thy blessed Word, I freely — at least to the utmost of my power — doe forgive my Enemies; and, in token thereof, I pray Thee Lord, to forgive them, and, of Thy goodness, to make them also forgive me.

Soe, henceforward, we shall cease those enmities and revenges, and all ill purposes, which we ever intended for one another, and soe pass the remaine of our lives in peace, that Charity may cover a multitude of our sinnes. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for the Isle of Man.*

MOST Gracious and loving Lord! I give Thee all praise and thanks for preserving this Island to my family soe long a time, and especially for securing it to me in these dangerous times.

Eternal Father! bless it unto me and to mine after me, until time may be no more, so shall I and all the dwellers in it, and our Children after us, bless Thy glorious Name.

God of glory! let Thy service be always faithfully performed here in such manner as may be best for Thy Glory and our Salvation. Defend us, O Lord, from the malice of our enemies and from the envy of any that would rob us of our peace.

O God of Peace! confound the stratagems and devices of all those that wage war against us. Infatuate and strike with follie all such as plot our disquiet.

Bring it to pass that we may have Peace continually about us. Be Thou Thyself at peace with us, and give us Thy grace to have peace with one another. O make us so much Thine that peace may dwell in our hearts, even the peace of Conscience which passeth all understanding.

Good God of our Salvation! preserve us still by Thy Providence against the sorrows of the sword, the plague and famine. Suffer us not to be destroyed by any contagious diseases, nor by any violent nor sudden death, lest any of us should be taken from this world unprepared. Neither let the want of food or other necessities make us die a discomfortable or lingering death, lest we

should imagine that Thou hearest not our prayers, when we call upon Thee, in time of need.

Send us plentifully, LORD, of Thy fruits of the earth and sea, and let that plenty nourish us up to a right thankfulness towards Thee; but not to pamper us to gluttony or wantonness, lest we spurn at Thy laws, and become ungrateful; which justly might offend Thee, and make Thee suffer us to be slain by our own surfeits.

Heavenly Father! assure this Country unto me and mine. Continue to us the power, profit, and honor of it, and Thou, O GOD, shalt have all the glory. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for a Sick Friend.*

O GOD! Thy servant and my friend [ ] is shrewdly troubled with a grievous sickness, and I am perplexed because of him. Thou art the only power that can deliver, and I have none to flee unto for help but Thee. If Thou wilt, he may soon be whole, for Thou art the LORD of Life.

It is sin that causes death and every evil, and to Thee it belongs to pardon sin.

Shew Thyself now the GOD of health, the GOD of our salvation. Heal [ ] of this sickness and me of sorrow, so shall we rejoice in Thy mercy, and praise Thee awhile longer in the land of the living.

I beseech Thee, LORD, to bless the remedies which are used for his restoration to health. Ease his pain and restore him shortly to his former state.

Let not the malignancy of his sickness disturb his thoughts or make him now think less of Thee. Let no temptation of the Devill shake his faith or destroy his hope. Let not his heart be too much fixed upon earthly vanities, lest he should be unwilling to go to Thee, with whom are pleasures for evermore.

If this Thy sick servant may be healed the whole praise thereof shall be Thine. We acknowledge, O our GOD! that nothing can be given him for his health but it is a creature of Thine, as we our-

selves are; so no will or understanding of our own can help him, but as Thou makest us Thy instruments for his good.

If otherwise Thou resolvest, and wilt take him from us, take him to Thyself, and so shall his state be bettered. He will leave a living in this world, as if he had lived not, where all his life hath been, as ours is now, a daily dying, to come unto the kingdom of glory, where enjoying Thee he will have more happiness than all we mortals of the world could wish. Where in lieu of the best fare of this world (which but breeds corruption) he will have heavenly food, and will eat and drink with CHRIST at his Father's table. Instead of the gayest clothing (which is a vanitie) he will be clad in white robes shining like the Sun. For Musique, he will hear a Quire of angells continually singing. For power and dominion, he will judge the Angells. For any joy which this life affords (imperfect at the best,) he will have a joy full of glory, and which can never be taken from him.

These blessings Thou hast evermore in store for all who die in Thy faith and fear. What more there is, Thou, who knowest all things, only knoweth.

The desire of King David was to be a door-keeper in Thy house. When this man leaves his house of clay, his mortal body, Thou wilt suffer him, I trust, to have a dwelling in some corner also of Thy house, but where and with what delight we say not, for the measure of his joy is left unto Thee. It is enough — and more than the best of us can claim — to have any place at all, or any share of happiness, in Thy holy dwellings.

Our sins are bars to shut heaven's gates against us; who then can presume to be admitted, when every man is a sinner? CHRIST JESUS is the Door. CHRIST JESUS is the Way. Whoso believes in Him needs not doubt of everlasting life. O LORD, increase our faith! Increase Thy sick servant's faith. Pardon him all his sins for CHRIST JESUS' sake, who suffered for our sins.

For the name and sake of CHRIST JESUS let his name be written in Thy book.

For the merit's sake of CHRIST JESUS have regard unto sighs

and tears; let his prayers be acceptable which he offers for himself, which we offer for him, which CHRIST JESUS, the only Mediator between GOD and man, offers for him and for us.

O let not the LORD be angry, that I speak once more.

If it be Thy will, O Father,—O for CHRIST JESUS' sake let it be Thy will — to save Thy sick servant now from death, let us once more have the comfort of his conversation; let him serve Thee a little longer in this world, which if Thou wilt grant, we his friends engage ourselves that we will never forget so great a benefit whilst we live, but from time to time will give Thee thanks and praise and glorie.

Yet not our will but Thine be done. And however Thou art resolved to dispose of this Thy servant, let our wills be subject to Thy will, that we his friends may not only patiently but passionately say

The LORD gives and the LORD takes,
The name of the LORD be praised.
*Amen.*

*Thanksgiving for a Friend that is recovered of Sickness.*

GOD is the LORD by whom we escape death.

O GOD Thou hast heard my supplication in behalf of [ ]. Thou hast recovered him of a dangerous infirmitie; Thou hast comforted me exceedingly concerning him. It becomes us all on such occasions as these to give Thee glory.

We now perform our vows to praise Thee, and rejoice in Thy salvation.

I will love Thee dearly O LORD, my Strength, my Rock, my Refuge. I will henceforth call upon Thee in all my troubles, and so shall I be safe.

*Psalm* xxxiv. I will give thanks unto the LORD &c. *to the end.*

O Thou Preserver of all that trust in Thee, I laud and love Thee for Thy great mercie in having granted my request in behalf of [ ]. I beseech Thee to give both him and me still further

grace, so to consider the vanities of this world and the uncertaintie of our lives, that we may redeem the time, and so order our conversation, that Thy wrath against us, because of sin (the cause of our infirmities and sorrows) may be appeased, and our fears and griefs turned to confidence and joy in Thee; that from this hour we may accustom ourselves to trust in Thee, to seek Thee, to bless Thee, to contemplate Thee, to meditate upon Thee, to delight in Thee, and to speak of Thy wondrous works; then mayest Thou take pleasure in us and delight to do us good.

Almightie LORD! I worship and adore Thee. I ascribe to Thee all honor and glory; might, majesty, and dominion; wisdom, justice, and mercy — there is no end of Thy Attributes. I want an Angel's tongue to set forth Thy praise. I and my house shall serve the LORD. He was sick and nigh unto death; but GOD had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. *Phil.* ii. 27.

*When my Heart is much Rejoiced.*

I WILL go into Thy house with burnt offerings. I will pay Thee my vows which I promised with my lips, and spake with my mouth, when I was in trouble. *Psal.* lxvi. 12.[26]

O LORD of Heaven and Earth, my glory and my salvation; my Life, by whom I was made, my Light, by which I have been directed; the Protector of my life and my Comfort in the day of trouble; the Tower of my strength, the Joy of my heart, the Life of my Soul, my Redeemer and Preserver! All glory be to Thee, my GOD, who hast written me on Thy hands[27] (that Thou mayst remember me) who hast delivered me from many, many perills; who reclaimed me when I wandered, instructed me when ignorant, comforted me when I despaired, raised me when I fell, supported me when I stood, guided me when I travelled, received me at my coming home, and carefully watched me while I slept.

GOD of the Spirits of all flesh, I give Thee praise.

[26] *Prayer Book version.* [27] *Isai.* xlix. 16.

I praise Thee who inhabitest Eternity, dwelling in the Light that no man can approach, who made the Earth by Thy power, and rulest the world by Thy wisdom, Lord of Hosts, dreadful and mighty, righteous and merciful, worthy to be praised, and loved, and feared!

Glory be to God, the Father, to God, the Son, and to God, the Holy Ghost, three in person but one in substance; Very God, of one simple, spiritual, invisible, incomprehensible nature: Present every where, but without any abode; wholly every where, but without place; governing all things, but without labour.

In Power, Almighty.
In Wisdom, Wonderful.
In Councells, Terrible.
In Judgment, Righteous.
In Promises, most True.
Patient towards Sinners.
Mercifull and Bountifull to all.
Eternal, Immortal, Vnchangable.
Whom wideness of space makes no bigger,
Nor doth corners or straitness wringe.
Whose will varies not, neither doth His friendship alter.
Thou hast created Medicines for all diseases.
Thou hast prepared a severall comfort for every severall evill.

Now Thou hast shewed me Thy mercy in saving the life of [ ]. Now Thou hast shewed me Thy love in rejoicing my very soul because of [ ].

Now therefore, O my soul, and all that is within me, magnifie and praise the great and glorious God.

Lord, I praise Thee whom Angells praise, whom all the Dominations adore, whom all Heavenly powers reverence. I praise Thee to whom Cherubim and Seraphin continuallie doe cry,

Holy! Holy! Holy!

Let all that hath breath praise God. *Amen.*

*Another Thanksgiving.*

WORTHY art Thou, O LORD, our Holy GOD, to receive honor, power and glorie. It is very meet, right, and my bounden duty to make mention of Thee in all, and for all, things; at all times and in all places; by all means, ever and every where to give Thanks unto Thee, to confess Thee, to bless Thee — the Creator, Preserver, Comforter, Father, King and GOD of all.

Fountain of Life! Treasure of all that is good! whom the heaven, and heaven of heavens, angels and all celestial powers, sing praise unto, crying vncessantly to one another (and I, most unworthy I, under their feet,) for this Thy goodness to [ ] do join them, saying,

Holy! Holy! Holy!
LORD GOD of Hosts.

Heaven and Earth, be ye full of the Majestie of His Glory. — Blessed be the glory of the LORD, from His place. *Ezek.* iii. 12.

*For Rain.*

WE have not hearkened diligently to Thy voice, O GOD, therefore is the heaven now over [our] head as brass and earth beneath our feet as iron.[28]

Behold the Rain of the land is as dust and powder.[29] O merciful LORD GOD, we beseech Thee now to power down such rain and showers as are needful to refresh the ground, and to make the fruits thereof grow, to our comfort; soe shall we rejoice in Thy salvation, and acknowledge Thee the Fountain of our good, the LORD that helpeth in the time of need.

Say to us now, LORD, as heretofore Thou didst, when men obeyed Thy Laws, — blessed be you in the City and blessed in the field; blessed be the fruit of your body, your ground, your cattle, your basket, and your store.[30] *Amen.*

[28] *Deut.* xxviii. 23. [29] *Deut.* xxviii. 24. [30] *Deut.* xxviii. 3, 4, 5.

*For Faire Weather.*

O LORD our God, who hast set a Bow in the clouds to be a token of a covenant that the Earth shall be no more destroyed by a Flood, have mercy upon us. Behold now the waters which wear the stones: behold the things which grow out of the Earth are washed away. Thou destroyest the hope of man. Pardon our offences which at this time justly occasion Thee to shower down judgments upon us, and to send us now these storms and tempests in token of Thy wrath.

Lord, stay the battles of heaven, serene the clouds, calm the unquiet winds, cease these rains — so shall we have the benefit of Thy promises to Noah — that whilst the Earth remains there shall never cease the seed time and the harvest, the cold and heat, Summer and Winter, Day and Night.

O grant us our requests because of Thy great mercy, that we may boast of Thy help, as our Fathers have done, in the old time, before us.

*A Prayer for the Loyall Fort in the Isle of Man.*[31]

O LORD our God, Maker of Heaven and Earth and [all] that is contained therein, we laud and magnify Thy name for Thy many mercies towards us manifested greatly by innumerable blessings. And amongst these we hold ourselves much bounden to thank Thee particularly for this Island, and especially for the blessing of it with Peace, and all the fruits of Peace, when all the kingdoms of the world else, were on fire — when the kingdoms about us had their judgments, of plague, famine and the sword.

We thank Thee for this Fort, builded for this land's defence by James E. of D. lord of this land, who hath strictly commanded that no day pass in this place without acknowledging Thy benefits to him and us: that we, with him, declare Thy protection as our

[31] This "Loyall Fort" was the garrison of Castle Rushen, which, as recently as 1722, seems to have possessed a sort of standing court martial, to take cognizance of military and other offences reserved in Earl James's Order concerning Appeals from the Spiritual Court, in anno 1636. Keble's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, vol. i. p. 483.

only strength, that in Thee we trust and not in our own worth, or swords, or arms of flesh, and that we proclaim Thee, the fountain of our strength and the LORD of all our hopes.

O good Shepherd of Israel, that never sleeps nor slumbers, watch Thou over us, preserve us against treacheries, against the hands that hate us, and let no weapon prosper that is formed against us.

Give Thy choicest blessing to our Lord and Master, to my Lady, to the Lord Strange, and to all that Princelie familie. May there never want of that line to be a shelter and shadow of Defence, under Thee, to the People of this Land, and to their children after them, even whilst the world lasteth.

Bless the Governor, and all our Officers, Spiritual and Temporal.

Bless the Inhabitants with Thy bounties, and after a holy, happy, and long life in this world, let us all reign with Thee in the world to come, for CHRIST JESUS' sake. *Amen.*

*Conclusion of Prayer.*

MERCIFUL LORD! forgive these my imperfect Prayers, and all the errors and imperfections of my best deeds; but more chiefly forgive my worser sins, and especially my worst sins, and that for His sake, who had no sin, and yet died for sin, even for my sin.

LORD, say "Amen" to my requests and desires, and the rather because I conclude them with that perfect Prayer which JESUS Thy Sonn hath taught us in His Holy Gospell, in saying which I joine with me all that is deer unto me, even all that is deer to Thee:

Our Father, &c.

The LORD bless me and keep me.

The LORD make His face to shine upon me and be gracious unto me.

The LORD lift up His countenance upon me, and give me Peace. *Amen. Numb.* vi. 24, 25, 26.

*A* CONFESSION *to be chiefly said at the times of preparation for the receiving of* THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

I WILL judge myself, least I be judged and condemned with the world.

To Thee, O LORD, to whome only it belonges to pardon sin, I confess my sin — my leprosie of sin — being trulie sensible that it will increase more and more upon me, and that if Thy mercy be not extended to me, and that quickly, I shall die in my sin and soe die eternally.

I beseech Thee therefore, for Thy mercy, that Thou wilt haste to help me.

O Son of David, have mercy upon me!

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Remember, LORD, how heretofore Thou didst send for the weak and needy, the lame and blind, to come unto Thy Banquet: Thou didst not disdain then to eat and to converse with Publicans and Sinners.

Behold! now Thou callest me to Thy Table, that am diseased and uncleane, and sullied with the spots and stains of sin.

I come! I will not fear to come. Why should I fear? Because of my uncleanness? Because of my many sins? Can I be refused that have been invited? Can I think my sins more than my LORD'S mercies? Can I doubt His power or His will to save me, His creature? Do not Confession, Contrition and Supplication please Him? GOD hath not forgotten to be gracious. He came not for the Just, but for Sinners.

JESUS! Thou art called JESUS for the saving of Thy people from their sins. If all the world know Thy power, they may also know Thy mercies. I know both to my comfort, therefore in obedience to Thy loving invitation I come! And in confidence that Thou canst and will save me I approach Thy throne of grace, beseeching Thee for Thy goodness' sake to consider my infirmities with compassion.

I confess my sins, LORD, before Thee, though much to my shame:

alas! I know no other means of help for myselfe or of amends for Thee. If I be odious in Thy sight because of my sins, Thy glory will appear more bright in pardoning my sin—my sins—my many sins; so many in number and so vile in their nature that none but a God Almighty and Infinite, whose mercies are boundless, is able to help me.

The diseased of this world that seek their cure of men, will, in honour to the physition, in confidence in his skill, and with a great desire to be healed, in the first place, make confession and an ingenuous discovery of all their indispositions. Shall I do less unto God my Helper? Shall I hide my infirmities as if I loved to be sick? Shall I conceal my sins as if I cared not to be damned? I will rather as a common beggar who exposes his sores that men may pity him, so make known to my Lord my wretched state that He likewise may commiserate my condition.

But what needs it to tell Him what He knows already? Knows He not my sins who knoweth all things? Yet I will tell Him my sins, that He may know that I do know them. And this shall be the benefit of my knowledge, that it cause me to make a clear confession, that whilst I reckon up the particulars of my sinning I may humble myself before Him and acknowledge Him the Author of my salvation, for He the Lord shall raise me.

So shall I grow into a horror, a fear, and a shame of my offences, and He shall save me.

So shall I come to hate all sin, and myself too, for sinning, but He, the Lord, shall save me.

So shall I be sorry for my sin, and after this sorrow shall come forgiveness of my sin, peace in my conscience, gladness in my heart, and with my mirth[32] I shall praise my Maker. I shall pray against sin and all evil. I shall pray for grace and all good. And the Lord will answer my requests.

One sin brought misery to all the world. How is it now with thee, O me! that hast a world of sin?

God be merciful to me a sinner.

[32] ? mouth.

I confess, LORD, that my sins ORIGINAL derived from my first parents, are, without Thy mercy, enough to damn me, if I had none other of mine own.

For although I have sinned from the time of my birth and done little else until this very present, yet must there be added to them all my fathers' sins since the infancy of the world, so that this only is left unto me, to call on Thee for mercy, saying —

LORD have mercy on me.

My sins ACTUAL I confess against Thee, against others, against myself, in thought, word and deed. Sins of all sorts, at all times, foolishly and greedily committed.

LORD have mercy on me.

Sins of OMISSION I confess, ungratefully neglecting all my duty unto Thee who hast done so much for me, who hast solely been the cause of my good — my Creator, my Redeemer, my Sanctifier.

I have not praised Thee, nor prayed to Thee so often, so seriously, or so cheerfully as I ought to have done. I have been slack and slow in my works of charity to my neighbours, not giving them relief as I ought to have done, nor advising them by my counsel nor winning them unto Thee by my good example.

I have not made use of the time or of the meanes which Thou gavest me for Thy service and my own good.

I have not repented enough of my sins, nor enough amended my life.

LORD have mercy on me.

Sins of COMMISSION I confess in the breach of every one of Thy commandments.

He that is guilty of the breach of one I know to be guilty of the breach of all. I accuse myself of all.

O my soul NOW EXAMINE thyself thoroughly.

1. Hast thou not loved the creature more than the Creator? Hast thou not feared man more than GOD? Hast thou not sometimes murmured against GOD?

O LORD, forgive me every sin against this commandment, which either Thou or my own conscience can accuse me of.

2. Have I not sometimes worshipped God after my own fancy, against His own rule, either undecently or in imitation of idolators, superstitiously, carelessly, &c.

O Lord, forgive &c.

3. Have I not used irreverently God's titles in my talk, swearing or forswearing by His holy Name?

O Lord, forgive &c.

4. The Day that God has blest for rest, from sin and our ordinary labours, have I not past in idleness, in worldly business, in vain sports and recreations? Our servants and our cattle also, which ought to have rested and had the benefit of Sabbath-days, have I not unmercifully and needlessly made them labour?

O Lord, forgive &c.

5. Have I not displeased my Heavenly Father in displeasing my earthly parents and those in authority above me, not only contrary to God's rules and theirs, but also to my own principles.

O Lord, forgive &c.

6. Have I not maliced many, scorned, wronged and hurt them in their person, goods and good name?

O Lord, forgive &c.

7. Have I not been unchaste and committed follie?

O Lord, forgive &c.

8. Have I not deceived and done wrong by fraud and force?

O Lord, forgive &c.

9. Have I not lied to the prejudice of another?

O Lord, forgive &c.

10. Have I not repined at another's good? Have I not coveted what was another's, and that whilst I neglected what was mine?

O Lord, forgive &c.

O Lord, write all these Thy laws in my heart, engrave them there deeper than they have hitherto been, and make me more perfect in the way of Thy commandments, for

Christ Jesus' sake.

Teach me Thy statutes, O GOD, and instruct me in the way of Truth; shew me the path of Thy salvation; open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of Thy law; wipe from mine eyes those mists of *Ignorance* and darkness which have made me wonder. Behold, I have sinned, O LORD, against Thee when I have not known it, yet I plead not for myself nor excuse this sin of ignorance; but contrariwise, I condemn myself. I have strayed from Thy commandments though sufficientlie instructed by Thee; sometimes I have forgotten Thy word, sometimes I have been deaf to its voice, from my natural averseness to all that is good.

And when I have sinned not knowing it, it was by reason of my customary sinning and the evil habit of an evil heart; soe for this as well as for any other sin I have reason to ask Thy pardon and to say,

LORD have mercy on me.

The more I search my wound the more I find my corruption, but Thy mercy LORD is of a healing nature, and so the discovery of the desperateness and the deadliness of my wounds will make more manifest Thy power and goodness now to heal and save me.

I confess my sins of WILFULNESS. Like an evil spirit in my heart they have often puffed and swelled it up with vain imaginations and all vices, so that it is well nigh altogether dead in trespasses and sins, and has become a naughty, froward and hardened heart.

O my heart thou hast committed folly against thy GOD, who is a terrible GOD and canst punish thee when He pleases. Thou hast acted ungratefully towards a good GOD, who is merciful and very loath to punish.

If thou hast sinned knowing Him to be the just rewarder of Iniquity, what can remain unto thee but an expectation of a fearful judgment?

If thou hast sinned, still worse, knowing Him to be a GOD of mercy and compassion, how incapable, how unworthy dost thou make thyself of His mercy.

But, O LORD my GOD, it will make Thy glory more glorious if,

notwithstanding this sin, Thou still pardonest and hast mercy on me.

Lord have mercy on me.

Jesus Christ, God and Man, who knowest what is in man, better than man, who knowest all the frailties and evil of man's heart,

Have mercy on me.

Thou that knowest how wilfully I have resisted the good motions of Thy good Spirit and how I have offended and grieved the Holy Spirit,

Have mercy on me.

Thou that knowest how I have sinned against the checks of my own conscience, and obstinately refused the counsel that was good,

Have mercy on me.

The sin of despair is the last and basest sin that I can name. It is the sin that brings men headlong to the dark dwelling of the damned; the sin for which there is no mercy, and which most offends the souls already in hell.

O my soul, that cannot excuse thyself of one sin, how near hast thou suffered thyself to be ensnared and entangled by this!

When thou hast felt the heavy burden of thy sins didst thou never use the words of Cain, saying, my sins are more than I can bear?

Hast thou never weighed the mercies of God along with thy sins in Balances that have deceived thee and cozened thee to a belief that God's goodness could hardly exceed thy vileness? that His mercies were not so many as thy sins? Wert thou not afraid that He was not to be entreated? Wert thou never so besotted with thy sins as to wish that there were no God to punish?

Hast thou not sometimes delighted in the conversation of the wicked, who foolishly and vainly to be thought wise, have sometimes argued against the truth, and said, "There is no God?"

Hast thou never, like them, let thyself loose to unbelieving resolutions, to place thy whole delight in the pleasures of this world, because thou hadst no hope of any in the world to come?

This I know, that I have lived too much like a beast that had no reason, and even worse, for I have sinned against reason; and when I felt the symptoms of my sins' reward, such as sickness, mischances, sorrows and the like, I have for a while whined and been afflicted with a troubled conscience until in some measure I repented, but it was a repentance that needed to be repented of: for I cared not so much to have dishonoured GOD by my sins as to have incurred danger to myself by sinning.

This is past all question, that a time there was when I gave myself to know sin, and folly, and madness; but afterwards I concluded that all was vanity and vexation of spirit.

I know when, if not now, O GOD, I felt a want of Thy good Spirit; but I was again comforted by reflecting that I could not feel a want of Thy Spirit without Thy Spirit, nor could I feel a want of Thee without Thee.

Turn Thine eyes now, LORD, upon me, as Thou didst upon St. Peter, that so, like him, I may turn mine eyes to fountains.

The *Penitential Psalms*, 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.

For the *Sacrament*, 23, 26, 111.

*Prayer and Meditation.*

LORD, Thou hast given me grace to make my Confession unto Thee with some measure of Contrition; give me now of Thy favour also to make a covenant with my eyes that from this time, even to the end of my life, I may behold nothing but with this chief purpose, to be brought thereby to Contemplation and Admiration of Thy Wisdom, Power, Love, Mercy, Bounty, Holiness, Happiness, Eternity, &c., especially How the Creator of heaven and earth, and all that in them is, is my LORD and my GOD, my Father and the Father of all the faithful in CHRIST JESUS.

How the same CHRIST JESUS, the Son of GOD became ye Son of Man; how He was born; how He lived; how He died; how He rose again; how He is now in glory with GOD the Father; is one with Him, our Mediator and Intercessor, our Advocate and Redeemer — our most Blessed Saviour.

How God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is the Blessed Spirit, our Comforter, our Defender, and our Wisdom; by whom we live, and live well; by whom we move, and have all good motions; by whom our being is, and all our happiness in this life, and whose assistance only can bring us to everlasting happiness in the life to come.

All glory be to God the Father!

All glory be to God the Son!

All glory be to God the Holy Ghost!

three in person, one only in substance, one Lord and one God, my Lord and my God.

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Lord, when I look on Vanitie (all that is on Earth is vanitie), make me value nothing in comparison of Thee; but make me esteeme all things loss and dross in comparison of Thee.

When I consider the great wickedness that is done on earth, let me wonder, and make me lament, that there is not more fear of God.

When I look on Death as it comes to another or to me, let it no waies fright me, as if I were a child to be terrified with fancies, or strange visions or ugly shapes, and that because of want of faith, nor let me be apprehensive of it, as those are who want hope, because of bringing with it the reward of sin: But contrariwise that I may know, however flesh and blood oppose it, that nothing could come better to me; for Jesus Christ who died on a cross, and thereon had his flesh most vilely torne and his blood spilt, did sanctifie Death to all good Christians, that it should be no more soe great a curse, but the greatest blessing. By me therefore Death shall only be esteemed as a gate here below, through which I am to pass before I come to the gate above, which is opened to all true Believers, and leads to fulness of delight for evermore.

In life or death, Lord Jesus be Thou my advantage. Whether I live or die, may I live and die vnto my Lord.

*Amen.*

O that my Eyes could now shead teares enough to witness an unfained sorrow for my sinne, and that my hands were so lifted up towards GOD's mercie seat that my impurities might be forgiven, and I assured of a pardon delivered to them[33] for all the evil that I have done. O Thou that relievest burdened soules, give ear unto my cry — hear my complaint — I am sorely burdened with my sins, my soule is bowed down to the dust; but I trust in the LORD Jehovah, the Rock of Ages.

I have none to cry unto, O GOD, but Thee: other gods hear not. But O my soul, is thy cry the voice of a true mourner? Is it a voice voyd of hypocrisie and infidelitie? Is there no harshness of sound in thy complaints? GOD forbid but this voice be truly pleasing, and haue the same effect as the lowd cry of Bartimeus and the two other blind men, who, notwithstanding they were rebuked and bid to hold their peace, showted after JESUS the Son of David, and because of the great press of People between Him and them, they raised their voices higher, crying yet more earnestlie for mercy and saying, "JESUS, Thou Son of David have mercy on us." We read that He had compassion and healed them, and said to Bartimeus, "Thy faith hath made thee whole."

LORD, I have much more need to cry than they, for I am not only more sinful but more blind, having less faith and a thicker throng between Thee and me — my sins, my frailties, my temptations, my many difficulties. Be it now an addition to Thy honour of healing them to heal me alsoe.

If this crying, as it is mine, prevaile not with Thee, may the lowd cry of CHRIST, which the bitterness of His passion forced from Him, when He cried "Eli, Eli, lama, sabacthany," procure Thy mercy for me. And let that other cry he made, when soon after He gave up the Ghost, prevent the crying of my sins against me, and be an assurance to me that His voice, now and ever, shall be heard in my behalfe.

O my heart break now thy hard and stupid dulness, that hath not hitherto enough considered the great goodness of thy GOD —

[33] ? me.

the God of life, from whom all things that have life receive their life, and yet He hath given Himself a sad life for thy sake. He whom all powers reverence hath subjected Himself to death, even a shameful and cruel death, for thy sake.

When with thoughts of thy unworthiness, O my heart! thou hast burst into sighs and sobs, sorrowing for sin, which has caused so much ill to so good a Friend, to so great a God, and when in the depths of sadness thou hast found ground for a worthy meditation of so great a mercy and compassion, then burst again, but into praise and exaltation of His holy Name.

Mine Eyes! when you have wept for sorrow because of sin; my Hand! when you have struck my breast while I said "God, be merciful to me, a sinner;" my Heart! when you have left your pride, your stubbornness and your vanities, and have become humble, obedient, and have set your desires aright, then mourn no more; but you, and all of me be glad, be glad in Him who is All in All!

Look cheerfully now, my eyes, unto the hills from whence your help comes. Be you lifted up, my hands, with admiration of God's goodness to you, and cheerfully express your thanks: be you lifted up as desiring Him to lead you by the hand away from sin, and to lead you by the hand in waies of wisdom, holiness, and happiness.

Be thou lifted up my Heart!

My Heart is lifted up!

I am glad — I rejoice in God my Saviour! My delight shall be in His Commandments. I will set forth His deserved praises. Join with me, all you that are Holy, in Hosannahs and Hallelujahs!

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O Lord increase my Faith!

O Lord, open my Eyes that in the Blessed Sacrament, which by thy grace I purpose to receive on [ ], I may see Thy Son Christ Jesus crucified for me, and delivered unto me, with all spiritual benefits and advantages.

Rouse me now from laziness; raise up now my appetite for that holy food; let my sins be no more a hindrance thereto nor my incredulitie retard the Efficacy thereof. Let no affection of my flesh, no cares of the world, no temptations of the Devil prevent me in that holy exercise: But [that] in all humility and reverence, in faith and joy mingled with holy fear, I may receive the seales and assurances of my salvation, the gauges of my Redemption and Reconciliation.

Lord, I beseech Thee to be present with me at the exterior signes of this Sacrament. Assist me by Thy grace to participate as I ought of Thy Son's body and blood, of that body which was broken and of that blood which was spilt by my sake: to participate of the merits of His death and passion, which is the propitiatory sacrifice of my sins. Thou that forgavest the Adulteress, the converted thief, and an innumerable manie, of their sins, forgive me all my sins and have mercie upon me.

The nearer Thy mercies approach to Infinite the more art Thou like Thyselfe.

One drop of Thy blood will save me though I have a world of sins. O let that blood and water which ran down thy pierced side for the cleansing of sinners' hearts make my heart clean before Thee, even make it, Lord, after Thine own heart, that soe I may serve and please Thee all the days that I shall live. Lord make me eat Thy flesh and drink Thy blood, that soe I may be refreshed and filled with Thyselfe.

*When wee look upon the Table whereon stands the Blessed Sacrament.*

WHO'S there?

The Lord of Hosts.

Pause, O my soule! awhile.

Consider: have I not done rashly to come into the presence of Almighty God?

Am I not vile? Is He not Almighty?

Am I not wicked? Is He not the Holy of Holies?

Am I not Ignorance itself and Vanity? Is he not Wisdom and Eternal Truth? What can darkness have to do with Light? What hath dust and ashes to do with heavenly purity? But, LORD, I consider Thee here, as heretofore, when Thou didst send to seek the poor and needy, the lame and blind, to come unto Thy banquet: And as when Thou didst declare that the whole needed no Physician but the sick, and that Thou didst come not to call the righteous but sinners — sinners such as I — but who can be so great a sinner as I? The body of the Prophet Elisha in the tomb, one only touching, did rise from death, and shall not much more the body of the living LORD, who is the GOD of Prophets, raise me that am dead in sin, when I touch Him by a living faith?

LORD JESUS, say now to me as heretofore to her that had an issue of blood twelve years, and who, after she had bestowed all her goods upon Phisitians, who could not cure her, came to Thee, as her last and best remedy. No sooner had she touched Thee but she was healed, and had Thy blessing with it. Thou wert pleased with her faith and called her "daughter," wishing her to take comfort, for her faith had saved her, and Thou didst bid her go in peace.

LORD encrease my faith; own me for Thine; forgive me my sins; heal my infirmities; inflame me with Thy love, and grant me Peace.

*When I consider Christ upon the Cross.*

LOOK up my Soule! Contemplate thy Creator on a Cross, who merely of good will to men, took our nature on Him to become thereby capable of dying, to make us live; to die once, that we might live for ever.

That face which thou beholdest bruised and disfigured is the same which Angels love to look upon, and which they contemplate with an admirable joy.

O never to be enough admired! that the glory of Heaven, the Light of the People, the Eternal Wisdom of the Father, should be

crowned with thorns, and have His body violently stretched, and nothing of Him seen but blood and wounds.

What could be the occasion of such a Judgment?

This it was,

An excess of His love unto a lost World.

An excess of His love to thee, my soul! Thou didst commit the offence, and He hath borne the punishment. Thou hast been sick, and He hath taken the physick. Thus the innocent hath satisfied for him that hath offended — the Master took the bitter cup which was due unto the Servant.

O that I, who have been a great part of the fountain of His trouble, could now make my eyes fountains of repentant tears, tears which might wash the wounds which my sins have made.

*A Prayer whilst the Minister is blessing the Bread and Wine.*

LORD, forgive me my sins, especially those against the [ ] and [ ] Commandments.

I repent of my sins; I am sorry for them; I am sorry that I am not more sorry.

I ask pardon for CHRIST JESUS' sake, whose Sacrifice is represented in this Blessed Sacrament.

For the name-sake of CHRIST JESUS, regard my prayer.

For the suffering-sake of CHRIST JESUS, withdraw Thy hand of Justice and stretch forth Thy hand of Mercy to me.

For the merits' sake of the same CHRIST JESUS, be gracious unto me in the graces and blessings of this life, long, and of the life to come, for ever.

LORD, love me for Thy Son's sake, and make me again love Thee for Thy Son's sake.

LORD, give me daily testimonies and marks of Thy favour, in all that may concern me both in soul and body, in goods and good name.

Defend me from the malice of my Enemies; forgive them and me, and make us friends.

Bound my desires; but grant me my desired joy of all who are dear unto me.

Preserve my life with health, peace and plenty, with all that may be necessary for me.

Make me humble, thankful and obedient in all my prosperities, and patient, stout and holy in all my adversities.

Enable me to do Thee service, and make me profitable to the commonwealth.

Accept now my thanks for all Thy blessings.

O Lord, I thank Thee for all that is well with me.

I renounce any help or hope but in Thy mercie, through Jesus Christ, whose wounds are my healing, and whose holy life is accepted by Thee for my filthy life, and whose death and resurrection will procure me everlasting life.

Jesus Christ, shew Thy wounds;
Heavenly Father, behold Thy Son!

Blessed Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, have mercy on me. Consider me in lòve according to Thy old compassions.

Holy Trinitie,
Father, Sonn, and Holy Ghost,
Three Persons but one only God.
My Lord and my God!

Speak peace unto me, that I again may speak to Thee the words of Thy old servant Simeon:

"Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word. For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people. To be a light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the glory of Thy people Israel."

Glory be to God the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

*Immediately before the Receiving.*

O LAMB of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me!

Thou that takest away the sins of the world, grant me peace!

Grant me, good LORD, so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son and to drink His blood, that my sinful body may be made sinless by His body, and my soul washed of all uncleanness by His blood.

Account me holy, because He is holy.

Say the word, and I am healed.

Come, LORD JESUS, come quickly!

*Whilst he saith to me, "THE BODY OF," &c., I answer within myselfe:*

"THE body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which was given for me, preserve my body and soul unto everlasting life. I take and eat this in remembrance that CHRIST died for me, and I feed on Him in my heart by faith with thanksgiving."

Praise the LORD, O my soul, which saveth thy life from destruction, and feedeth thee with the bread of Heaven.

Sing praises — sing praises unto GOD; sing praises — O sing praises unto our King. GOD is the King of all the earth. Sing ye praise with understanding.

I will never cease to give thanks to GOD. His praise shall ever be in my mouth.

He is my GOD. He, only He, is the GOD of whom comes salvation. GOD is the LORD, by whom we escape death.

O blessed JESU, I adore Thy name. I magnifie Thee for Thy mercies towards me; especially for all the parts of Thy bitter passion; for Thy triumph over Death and Hell, Sin and the Grave; for the opportunities of receiving this Blessed Sacrament, and for all the benefits I derive from it.

*Then I may read some Psalm, or other chosen Meditation, till the Minister comes again, saying to me, "THE BLOOD OF," &c.*

I ANSWER again within myselfe: "The blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which was shed for me, preserve my body and soul unto everlasting life. I drink this in remembrance that CHRIST's blood was shed for me, and I am thankful."

Afterwards:

Lord, no man can be worthy of so infinite a grace as this, and no man more unworthy than myself.

Yet this is my comfort — that He is worthy whom Thou in favour accountest worthy.

O say of me now, as Isaak said of Jacob — "I have blessed him and he shall be blessed!"

Lord, cleanse me throughly by the sprinkling of the blood of this Paschal Lamb, Jesus Christ.

Mortifie my flesh and regenerate my affections, so that Satan may no more keep such intelligence with them as he hath done.

Fortifie me against all temptations of the devil, the world and the flesh.

Give me Thy grace to fight the good fight, to keep the faith, to live in Thy love, and to finish my course in Thy fear.

Let my sins be crucified on Thy cross, who was crucified thereon because of my sins and the sins of others now Thy servants; but let me be raised to newness of life by Thy glorious resurrection.

Lord, let no enticements, or cares, or any divertisement of this world, hinder the good effects of this healthful food which I have now taken, and for the same Christ Jesus' sake.

Our Father, which &c.

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WHEN I look upwards, I see infinite bodies and infinite motions, divers, and yet not troubling one another. When I look downwards, I observe seas continuallie threatning the earth, and yet not passing their bounds; and the earth, which is heavie and massie, to be so settled and suspended in the air, that it stirreth not.

These bodies direct me to a Spirit, and this orderliness to a certain Governor, for I know it certain in nature that bodies of themselves have no motion.

When afterwards I enter into myself, and there find an abridge-

ment of the whole universe — a Body fitted for all sorts of motions, a Soul which without removing makes the body move, and Reason guiding them in all their doings, and yet this Soul such that we can neither see it nor conceive of it aright — in all reason I may understand that in this great universalness there is a Sovereign Spirit which makes, moves, and governs all I see, by whom I and all mankind live, move and be, who in our bodies frames a counterpart of the world, and in our souls has engraven an Image of Himself.

I observe lower degrees of things in the world. Some are endued with all these gifts, } Being, Life, Sense, Reason,

and others with some of them only; as the Air, Sea and Earth [which] are great and bear up all things that have life, sense and reason, yet themselves have only a simple being, without either life, sense or reason.

Plants, besides being, have also life, and draw their nourishment from the Earth and their refreshing from the Sun.

Beasts have both being, life and sense, and take their food from the elements and the plants.

Man hath being, life, sense and reason, and enjoys the elements. He lives off the plants, commands the beasts, and discourses of all things that are above and below him.

How comes this orderly proceeding?

But first, how comes it that the living things which in respect of the sea are but as a drop, in respect of the earth are but as a grain of dust, yet in degree of pre-eminence are far above them; and man, who is the frailest of all living wights, is yet formed by the elements, the plants and the beasts? Cometh this of the things themselves?

That we know cannot be: for nothing willingly becomes an underling to others. How then? There is a Distributor of these things who, having imparted them to others, had them first in Himself, and Him we must believe to be ALMIGHTIE, being

able in such an unequal partition to hold them in so great a concord, according to His own will and pleasure.

Let me consider:

Which was first? Being, Life, Sense, Reason; or not Being, not Life, &c. Surely it was neither Life, Sense nor Reason; for the time hath been when we were not. We know that we had Fathers, and our Fathers had forefathers, and the end of them makes us believe they had a beginning. In like manner it is with beasts.

But much more may be said of Being, because the things here beneath that have only simple existence are far inferior to the other things, and, therefore, could not bring forth themselves, so that not Being, not Living, &c., was before Being, Living, &c.

Conclude we, therefore, that there is a Power from without us, who hath brought us from not Being into Being.

Blessed be that Power!

When I consider the nature of the elements of which the whole is compacted to be so contrary as Fire to Water, Moist to Dry, &c., yet matched together in the composing of many things, I admire that Spirit which so accordeth and guides these contraries to make thereof so heavenly a harmonie.

If we say, according to the common opinion, that air is spread as a stickler between fire and water, and joined to the one by moysture and to the other by heate, let us also say that the Sovereign Judge which is above them created them, to abide the stickler.

Blessed be that Spirit!

Blessed be that Judge!

To mount yet higher.

The Heaven moveth round with a continual motion. The Plants under one another (notwithstanding the violence of the first Moveable) have every one his several course and moveth by himself. Is this by adventure? No. For in all these diversities we know that there is one uniformitie for motion which is never

interrupted. And as for adventure or chance it is nothing else but disorder and confusion. Do these move themselves? No. Nothing moveth of itselfe. And where things move one another there is no probabilitie of infinite continuance, but we must come, in the end, to mount up to a first beginning, and that is Rest. (The clock-maker moveth not whilst the wheels of his clock are running.) Of all these motions, therefore, we imagine One Mover unmoveable; and of all these constant diversities One unvariable like itselfe; and of all these Bodies one Spirit.

Blessed be this Mover unmoveable!
Blessed be this One unvariable like himselfe!

We see the Earth replenished with Herbs and Trees, the Land furnished with Beasts and Birds, and the Sea with Fishes. Is this of the Elements? No. That which hath neither life nor sense cannot give life or sense.

Of Plants, some are hot and some are cold, some bitter and some sweet, some nourishing and some dangerous; and yet even in themselves is found a Remedie, or at least in the next unto them.

As touching Beasts, the wildest and such as live by prey, keep themselves alone, because the flocking together would be noysome to man; but the tame and such as are for our profit, doe naturally live in flocks and herds, because their great number is for our commoditie. Is this a work of fortune? The Sun heats the Earth. The Earth hath its seasons limited by the Stars, and its drought moystened by the Air. It serves for grass and grass serves for Beasts, and beasts serve man, and so each thing serves another. Now, whence may this bond come? If things be everlasting and of themselves, how can they put themselves in subjection? If all things were bred together, whence came the agreement amonst so many divers things?

This is the truth. They were all brought forth together at one instant by Him who thought it good so to act.

To whom be all praise
and glory for evermore!

The proportion in Man's Body, so well observed that all our arts borrow from it, witnesses a most singular cunning. The parts serving each other, and each serving the whole, betoken great wisdom. Now where Wisdom is, there is no place for Chance. By our Senses we perceive all colours, sounds, savours, scents and feelings, by all which we are made to know that one self-same Worker made the senses and all things subject to the senses; for to what purpose were the senses without the sensible things, or the sensible things without the senses?

Now, seeing they rely upon one another, which of them may be said to have been first bred in the world? If man made them, why maketh he not them still? Why should man suffer himself at any time to be bereaved of his senses? But we are satisfied that they have not been of man's making, therefore their Creator is to be elsewhere sought for.

When we consider Speech in man, we conceive that he was created to communicate himself to many; and when we come to consider the Mind of man, which in discourse reacheth beyond sensible things, gather we not that there are things to be comprehended by the Understanding for which the Mind itself was made?

Now, being conscious of such a Mind in ourselves, dare we saie that there is no mind but in ourselves? And seeing this mind, by which we understand other things, and yet for all that cannot know or understand the mind, either what or who it is, ought we not to acknowledge that there is a MIND above ours, whereby we have understanding of some things, and which understandeth and knoweth in us all things which we ourselves know not?

Man, who paints an image, may look a hundred times upon it, and daily improve upon it; but man in begetting, or the mother in bearing children, think no more of fashioning the child in the womb, than a tree the nut that falls to the ground, which grows into a sprig with bark, and in time puts forth boughs and bears leaves and fruits.

We daily see men desirous of having children and cannot have

them, and some unwilling to have any — sometimes having them against their will, sometimes a son when they would have a daughter, and a daughter when they desire a son.

Should I not trouble a good anatomist to wish him to describe to me the hardness of the bones? the liquor of the veins? the spirit of the heart-strings? the beating of the pulses? the imagination of the brain? the thoughts of the heart — even the thoughts of his own heart?

O man! assure thyself that man is not the author of man, but that all things come to him from some Cause above himself, and seeing that he knoweth that that Cause hath understanding also, but knoweth that man understandeth not himself whilst that Cause doth understand him; and seeing that after a sort man is infinite in number, but more infinite in thoughts and deeds, that Cause also must needs be Infinite, and that Cause we call GOD.

O GOD, the Creator of all things, Nature is nothing but an image of Thee!

All the Works of GOD, bless GOD!
Heaven, Earth, Seas, Winds, Showers.
Glorie be to GOD!
*Amen.*

We may go from East to West, from North to South; we may ransack all ages from one to another, and wherever we find *Man* we also find a Religion and GOD acknowledged and served by sacrifices and prayers, although men have diversely conceived of GOD according to their own fancies and imaginations.

In some places there have been neither kings, laws nor habitations, and the people have wandered naked in the fields, yet they have had amongst them some religion to shew that it is not more natural for men to love society and to shelter themselves from y^e^ violence of the seasons than to acknowledge the Author of their life — GOD.

The wiser sort of the Heathen nations, the Philosophers, Brachmins amongst the Indians and Magii amongst the Persians never

began any important business without a prayer. Such were the lessons of Pythagoras and Plato, the schools of the Stoicks, and even the Epicureans themselves. Herein the opinion of the common people and the wisest have met both together, which seldom happens but in apparent truths.

Some few wretched caitiffs may be found even at this day not having the knowledge of God. But if we look well into them they are either fools employing themselves in worldly profits and pleasures, and not giving themselves leisure to think of the matter, or else they are a crew grown out of kind and so shaped in wickedness that to practice villanie with the least remorse they have strived to persuade themselves that they have no souls, that there is no God, and no Judge to make enquirie.

Yet any one of these falling into never so little danger will quake and cry aloud towards heaven, and there is no sooner any little shadow of the Godhead offered them but they greedily catch at it and eagerly embrace it.

Many among the learned have been called Atheists, such as Diagoras and others, but it was a mistake. They did never deny the existence of God, but only the idols and false gods of their own times.

One Theodore, a Syrenian, of that number, was esteemed an Atheist because he told the Ægyptians concerning their gods that they had been but men. "If they be gods indeed," said he, "why do you bewail them? If they be only dead follies why do you worship them?"

These false gods which were worshipped for the true God, had been great personages whose statues being kept for a remembrance of them were afterwards turned into idols, their worldly doings into yearly gamings, and their honouring into worshipping.

Tell it out among the Heathen that the Lord is King.
Speak of the Lord all ye Works of His.
Praise thou the Lord, O my soul!

I perceive the world and all that therein is, is not of itself: that

which is of itself is God; beyond Him nothing can be imagined, and by Him all things exist and have existed as things which could not have their being of themselves.

We easily perceive that to produce existence from nothing requires infinite power, for between nothing and something there is an infinite distance, and two infinites cannot exist, no, nor be imagined, for the infinity of the one doth inclose and bind the power of the other, and whatsoever is given to the one is taken from the other.

Hence we conclude that there must be one Infinite, so also there must be but one, and one simply, from whose unity flow all the diversities we see, as from a point proceeds a line, an outside and all substantial bodies.

Of Unitie, or one in number, proceed even and odd, round and square, and all the multiplicities, proportions and harmonies which we see, saving that the point and unitie of number are intermingled and interlaced with all things, where as the aforesaid most single and only one, abiding still in itself, bringeth forth all the other unities and contains them all.

The like of this is in every sort of thing.

In the Elements are contrarie qualities and operations, and where contraries are there needs but two heads to set them at war. If one reigned over Heat, another over Cold, one over Dry and another over Moist, so that there were divers Makers and Governors of the World, should we not instantly see diversities of factions, element against element, and in every thing that is compounded in the world, continual war?

Now we see no such thing, but each of them embracing the other, although they would naturally displace and destroy each other.

The sea becleapeth the earth; the sea and earth are lapped in the air; the air again is compassed by the sky; each of these stoops under the other, so that of their contraries is a goodly university. Seeing then that there are not two factions, there can be but one Maker.

In earth we see rivers running a long race, but springing from one head. Of things that have life we see trees with trunks, bark, boughs, leaves and fruit, all coming of one root which hath its force united to itself, and that root proceeds from one kernel, which contains all the said diversities in its uniformitie.

Beasts have head and tail, teeth and tongue outwardly; the heart and lungs, bones and bowels inwardly. The beginning of these manifold parts is next cosen to nothing, a very drop of one shape, but only one; yet hath it the germ of life and sense united in itself, which multiplies itself into many abilities.

But this Unitie appears most in *Man*.

If we look upon the human body all the parts thereof are made for one another, and minister to each other, as the eyes guide the feet, &c. The veins spread through the whole body, but arise from one well-head, that is the liver; so the nerves from the brain, and the heart-strings from the heart: by these three conduit pipes are life, sense and breath sent forth to the least and uttermost parts, and the branches thereof are not to be numbered; but the original of all is only One.

The *Soul*, which hath its powers so diverse and so far spread, extends throughout the whole body, and is perfect as much in the least as in the greatest, and as much in the least as in the whole. Here we see a straighter Unitie. Again, the Soul is yet more straightly shut up into Mind, which is the Soul of the Soul just as the apple of the eye is the eye of the eye. And yet this Mind, entirely one as it is, conceiveth and doth infinite things, enters into a thousand places, without motion, passes over seas, mounts up to heaven and down again to the deep of the earth. Lo, here is an Unity more straight in itself and yet extending to the uttermost part of the world.

Arts and sciences also guide to the same Unitie whereunto those actions and the nature of some things have already led us — [but I cannot mention many of them, having soe few leaves of my booke remaining, and much more good matter to speak of in my intended Discourse, which also I must huddle up confusedly, for I

know not how soon I may be called away to take my sword in hand in place of my pen; with both which, and with all the abilities I have given to me by this One GOD, I will serve Him; and witness to Heaven and Earth that I doe love Him and desire His glorie.

I will meditate of Him night and day, and by informing myself concerning Him, as my knowledge increaseth, I will adhere unto Him more and more, leaving the vanities of this world to delight in His praise, not only when I am (as now) retired in my chamber, but in other places of the house, among my family, nor only there but elsewhere. . . . . When I had writt that last word, I received very comfortable tydings which, in reason, I may believe was the good pleasure of my GOD, who accepted well my resolutions to set forth His praise. Good GOD! give me Thy grace that I may evermore be praising Thee, either in deed or word, and do Thou from time to time give me tokens of Thy favour! In all places, before all men, yea before the gods, I will sing praise unto Thee!]

Arithmetick proceeds from Unity, Geometry from a point, and Physick tends to the preservation of health, whilst health is nothing else but a well-proportioned Unity of divers humours together in the system.

Therefore all that Man conceiveth, inventeth and disposeth leads us ever to an Unitie.

The wisdom of the world hath evermore acknowledged *one* GOD.

If any ask a reason whence a multitude of gods proceeded, even amongst Philosophers, men esteemed as the wisest in the world, it may be answered that they, who through bad custom, celebrated a plurality of gods, nevertheless themselves believed that there was only *one true* GOD.

Although all things in nature sufficiently shew that there is but one GOD, yet all nature is not able to teach us what GOD is, neither can Man comprehend in nature anything of Him; for the greater cannot be comprehended by the lesser.

Man can have nothing in understanding which was not first in his senses from whence proceeded to him the beginning of all natural knowledge; and he neither feels nor perceives good in himself but by its effects in nature, because it is a thing wrought by God; and no work or effect, however great it be, can perfectly express the Cause or Maker of it.

Plato, Plotin and others have said that God was that which cannot be found, and ought not to be sought. Even all the philosophers cry with one voice with David, "Lord, Thou hast made darkness Thy covert, and I am wearied even in Thy outward Courts."

So in effect whatever we know concerning the Being of God is that we understand nothing; and whatever we say affirmatively, whether we term it Truth, or Wisdom, or Unity, or Godhead, or any thing else which we mean thereby, we cannot fit Him.

As we cannot know what God is, it becomes us to know what He is not, and this we shall find to be no little help to know Him after a sort.

As nature hath taught us by divers motions which we perceive here that there is a God who is the first Mover of the world, so by the same reason we say He is immoveable, *i.e.* removeth not. He is unchangeable, uncompounded, beginningless, endless, bodiless, infinite, &c., all which terms whereby we declare not what He is but what He is not, are not to make us conceive of Him as He is, but to keep us from deceiving ourselves by vain conceipts of Him.

God, saith St. Austin, in Himself is, as the beginning and y^e^ end:

To the world as the Author and Governor thereof.

To His Church as a Father in His house.

To our Souls as a Bridegroom in His Chamber.

To the Righteous as a Helper and Defender.

To the Reprobate as a Trembling and a Terror.

Thus we will conceive of Him as much as we can: That He is good without quality, great without quantity, everlasting without time, and every where present but without place.

[I could insist hereon very pertinently, but want of time and place makes that I must trust to my memory.]

God hath made many things known unto us by His Holy Scriptures, which we plainly perceive by Reason; but had they not been so made known to us, we had not understood them by Reason. For reason is, after a sort, towards God what our eye is towards the sun. Neither the sun, nor any thing under it, can be well seen without the sun, so neither God nor any thing belonging to Him, can be seen without God.

We formerly concluded by Reason that God is a most singular Essence, and now believe by discovery from heaven that in the same most singular Essence are three persons or In-Beings.

Reason could never have found this out, but Reason can now serve us to prove it.

In the knitting of small and great things together, in this world, we observe a wonderful good order, and where this good order is there must needs be great skill and cunning: now this order and cunning proceeds from the Sovereign Understanding which is in God.

All things in this world, with and without understanding, are appointed for some certain end, as the sun to heat the world and to make the day light, and the planets and stars to mark out the seasons, &c. None of these or any of the others do stumble in their progress; none do step aside from their object, yet could they not prescribe it to themselves, for the origin of all design is understanding, and in most things there is no understanding. Therefore God that made them appointed them their ends, and had understanding for them, and having allotted them their offices and ends is Himself the beginning and ending of all things.

Therefore God being infinite, and nothing to be imagined in Him but what is infinite, be sure O my Soul! that God not only hath understanding but that understanding is His very essence — that He is understanding itself.

Now what doth this understanding produce?

It has been already said that God is an Active Being, and what-

soever He doth He doth it from everlasting. Also being single there is nothing in Him which is not active, so it follows that this understanding is everlastingly and actively employed: And understanding being an in-working which abides in the partie wch hath it, and passes not into any outward thing, as the course of the sun, which we understand is nothing altered thereby, this understanding works upon itself; and so God received and understood Himself, and it was of necessity that this understanding should yield a reflection back again to itself, as a face does in a looking-glasse, and as the mind when it sets itself to the consideration of its proper nature; and that it should conceive and beget in itself a perfect image of its own selfe, which Image is the same thing that in the Holy Trinitie we call the Son, the Word, the Speech, namely, the perfect Image of the Father.

Now this Understanding is actually everlasting, that is, everlasting *indeed;* and everlasting actual, that is, everlastingly doing, and therefore we say that 2nd Person which begetteth is also everlasting. And God in His understanding had not conceived anything less than itself, for it is equal with Him. Whereas we comprehend not ourselves, who come of the darkness and lumpishness of our flesh, which make us unlike ourselves.

We saie then that the Son is equal to the Father as the image to the pattern.

Moreover, the being of the Father and His understanding are both one, and His being or essence (being understood of itself) is none other than the being of the Son, who is begotten by the Father's understanding or mind of Himself.

Whercupon we conclude again that the essence of the Father is the essence of the Son — that is to say, whatsoever the Father is, the Son is the same, so that they differ not but by way of relation, and consequently they are co-eternal, co-equal, co-essential.

*The Second Person*, in divers respects, is betokened by divers names. He is ordinarily called "the Son," because He is a con-

ception of the understanding which is in God, and a perfect resemblance of Him.

He is called "the Word," or Speech, according to the doctrine of Philosophers, who have marked that there is in man a double speech. The one, in the mind, which they call the inward speech, and which we conceive before we utter. The other, the sounding speech, which is uttered by our mouth, and is termed the speech of the voice.

We know that the will or understanding conceives an inward speech upon the thing which is offered to it, and produces that conceipt in our minds as it were by a sudden flash of lightning, and afterwards the mind utters it more at leisure by the voice, although the voice is unable to represent or express the inward speech perfectly, insomuch that we see many men who have a great number of goodlie conceipts in their minds which they cannot express, and y$^{t}$ in expressing them either by word or by writing they mislike their own doings, because they are far inferior to the thing which they had conceived in their mind. Now the speech of the mind is very Reason itself; and what the speech of the mind reasons and debates, that the voice utters, and either of them is the Image of the next y$^{t}$ went before. For whatever proportion there is betwixt the voice or speech of the mouth and the speech of the mind the like proportion there is betwixt the speech of the mind and the speech of the understanding.

The voice hath need of air, and is divided into parts, and requires leisure: the mind indeed is indivisible, but yet hath need of time, to pass from one conclusion or reason to another. But as for the understanding it accomplishes its action or working in less than a moment, and by one act only doth so adapt itself to the reason and mind that it is constrained to make many acts of one.

This diversitie may every man mark in himself notwithstanding that all these acts seem to proceed together like thunder and lightning.

Now this conception or conceipt which God's understanding

hath conceived everlastingly in Himself, we call Speech or Word, which is the perfect Image of his understanding, and God's understanding is God Himself. Also we call it Reason because reason is, as ye would saie, the daughter, speech or word of our understanding, and we say that by the same Word God made all things.

*Concerning the Third Person.*

IT is acknowledged heretofore that in the single essence of God there is a workfull power or nature matched with an understanding whereby the said virtue or power executeth its actions.

Now in the same essence there must be a will besides the said understanding. In the things of this world we find a will tending to their several welfare, and the more understanding they have the more will also they have. This will, so far as we are able to discerne it by the effect, *i.e.* the will of God, is a certain ability whereby He applys His workful power when, where, and how He thinks good, guiding and performing it according to His own mind, howbeit the chief act thereof is performed within itself. Nevertheless this is spoken after the manner of men, for if we have much to do to discern the difference between the ability of will and understanding in ourselves by reason of the linking of them together, much more reason it is that in this Essence of God, which is most single, and infinitely more one than ours, we should deem all these things to be but one in Him, notwithstanding that they differ in certain respects.

God understandeth: but as I have said already that to be and to understand is all one in Him.

God also willeth or listeth; but to will and to understand are both in Him. And so all three come into one Essence, that is, they be all one.

We know well that willing or listing is no more an action that passeth into the outward thing than understanding is, but still abideth in the willer.

*The Third Person* whom we call "God's Spirit" and the "Holy Ghost" is the mutual kindness and lovingness of the Father and

of the Son. Of the Father—the Understander toward the Son—conceived and begotten by His understanding. Of the Son, back again toward the Father, acknowledging all that He hath and all that He is, is of the Father.

This will is the Essence of God, &c.

This will w^ch^ worketh everlastingly, eternally active and actively eternal, having no other thing to work upon but itself, doth by His working strike back upon Himself and delight itself in the infinite goodness which it knoweth to be there, and so sheadeth out itself wholly to the loving thereof, and by this action bringeth us forth this Third Person.

The will doth by His action, which is love, extend itself as far as God Himself, and so the Third Person is equal to the Second and to the First.

The Third proceedeth from the First, not only by the will but also by the understanding, and by the knowledge which the understanding breeds.

And because it proceedeth of two, not by way of resemblance but by act of will, we therefore term Him "proceeding" and not begotten.

And whereas we say that the action of understanding goes afore the action of will, our meaning is not to imagine any going afore or coming after in these Persons, but only to set forth this proceeding according to the order of nature, which we could not have expressed so well by the truth of the matter.

We call the Third Person most commonly the Holy Ghost—"Holy" because nothing is in God which is not pure and holy. We call Him "Ghost" and "Spirit" because we commonly call those things spirits the beginning of whose motion is unknown to us, as the breathing of the heart-strings, &c. "Holy Ghost" to distinguish Him from other ghosts or spirits.

### *As Touching Names.*

IF any be so simple as to think that the world is eternal and that the race of mankind is conceived of itself without a Maker, it were well to ask such if the two sexes of male and

female in all living things do not very plainly overthrow the said notion of eternitie: for how should they be everlastinglie the one for the other seeing they be so diverse?

Againe. Have they been everlastingly but two, or everlastingly more than two? If but two where are those two, seeing that eternity importeth immortalitie? If they were many, see ye not still the same absurditie?

When we consider that the first invention of all things was but awhile ago, we may well conclude that it is not long since the world began. The name of philosophie was not known before the time of Pythagoras. The account of the year was uncertain until Julius Cæsar's time, and is even yet so in the greater half of the world. Until three hundred years before the birth of Christ the Greeks and Romans had no clock, dial or distinction of hours. Varro, the great searcher of antiquitie, saith that all handicrafts were invented within the space of a thousand years, reckoned back from his time. Esculapius, saith Cicero, was esteemed a god, for teaching to pull out teeth. In former times one man was a phisitian for the head, another for the eye, another for the feet, &c.

As for the origin of the heathen gods, than which nothing one would think should be of greater antiquitie, we find men to have been born before them. Saturn, who is called the father of the gods, if the most notable story-writers may be believed, was Noah; Jupiter was the son of Nimrod, &c. We read of the first coming in of the liberal sciences, and how by degrees all inventions have been gathered into one time, which leads us also to some one country as to a centre where mankind and all things have first originated and spread afterwards to the uttermost parts of the circles. And the nearer any country be to that, the more tokens have they of their antiquitie, *e.g.* as France more than England; Italy more than France; Greece more than Italy, &c.

As conquests have been made, though the lands have had a rude people in them, yet much land was found unpeopled, or which might have contained more, which shews that the world was not peopled at once, nor yet that it was long since world and man were made.

All Heathen Authors have wondered at the writings of Moses, and have much honoured them.

All civilized and well-ordered people in the world have their chronicles: and historians of past times begin always at the creation of the world, wherein they all hold with Moses and agree with us Christians, saving in the controversie of a few years.

Philosophers we see keep much coyle in maintaining the immortalitie of the soul, and by that they reject the eternitie of the world, even against their will.

God hath created the world of nothing, that is, without any matter or stuff whereof to make it. If things in nature have their being in matter, why is a plant rather a plant than a metal, seeing that matter, being but one, is no more one thing than another?

God governs the world and all things therein by His Providence. Providence is a wise guiding of things to their end. If there be a Providence, saie some, whereto serve the mountains, but it may be better said, if all were of one sort where were Providence? How could Providence dispose things to their end if there were but one self-same thing every where throughout? Why is the rising of the nose above the face, or the eye-brows above the eyes, which is more than the mountains are above the plains?

Some complain of the wild beasts, of the sea, of the winds, &c., but rather they should bless the good Providence of God who hath printed an awe of man in the beasts; who by the seas makes us so much benefit of traffique, without which we could not travel so far nor so easily; and that by the help of winds, without which a tenth part of the globe had not yet been discovered.

Another asks had it not been better that man had been made immortal rather than mortal? But it may be answered, had it not been better that the earth had rather been fire than earth, or the ear rather had been an eye, since one is more excellent than the other?

But the cause why these things are thus is simply the will of

God, setting, as it were, the divers strings of the world in tune, to make one harmonie, insomuch that whoever takes away the diversitie of things, takes away the world itself. Whatsoever is in the world is the army or host of God: if God makes war here beneath, His armies are ready to do Him service.

Ambitious princes are punished by one another.

If nations wax proud, God's arms against them are diseases, grasshoppers, locusts, hoar frosts, blastings, &c.

In every one of us God has His overlookers to chastise us; in our flesh, our corruptions; in our minds, our passions; in our souls, our sins and disorders. Nothing is so small but it serves great purposes, nor so vile but it ministers to His glorie.

All the evil which is done or seemeth to be done in the world is subjected to the Providence of God.

In all things we see a manifest Providence, but to seek out the cause thereof in every thing is worse than to sound a bottomless pit, seeing that the will of God is the cause of all causes.

We envie the prosperity of the wicked in this world, but let us well consider and we shall find it a great mischief and trouble to be wicked. What pains do men take in all seasons and weathers, and at all hazards, to commit a robbery! What ague fits in following lusts! What turmoil in doing evil! What trouble of conscience when it is done!

If it be demanded why God created man free and not unfree, seeing his freedom made him bound, is all one as if it were demanded why He created fire to be light and subtile, that is to saie, fire; or why he created water to be cold and moist, that is to saie, water; or the world to be full of so many varieties, that is to saie, a world; and to be short, every thing to be of this or that nature. For to have free will and to be capable of reason is to be a man, and if we had not had it so we should have much complained.

Again. To have free will and such as cannot be but reasonable, is to be reason itself, and that is to be God. Now God meant not to create a God but a man to serve Him, like as when He created beasts for the service of man, he created not men but beasts.

The wise Providence of Almightie God doth not only order and dispose the things which He hath created, but even what He hath not created, insomuch that He oftentimes draws good out of evil, and compelleth the evil, contrary to its own nature, to serve Him, and thus He maketh even sinners and their sins to serve Him. The Emperor Titus meant to bring Jewry to due obedience, but it had been foretold of Jerusalem that one stone should not be left upon another, and no doubt Titus's own passion carried him on; but see how God overruled it. The same man persecuted the Christians at Rome, and revenged Christ's death at Hierusalem.

Judas, through covetousness, betrayed the blood of Christ; but God, by the sheading of that blood, redeemed Christians; and yet the Holy Scripture saith, the Devil, being in Judas, did put that purpose into his heart; so that it was over-ruled not only for Judas but for the Devil to serve God.

Some will much insist upon fortune, saying that if all things pass under the guidance of Providence what becomes of fortune which we see in so many things? But fortune is a word which signifieth nothing respectively, *i.e.* as having respect of some things or persons that are spoken of, and it has no being but of and in our own ignorance. Take away ignorance from man, and fortune is banished from all his dealings. Cicero said that error and blindness and ignorance of things and causes had brought up the names of nature and fortune (13).

The consideration of our thoughts, which are able in a moment to reach so far as they do, may well make us believe that there is something in the body greater than the body.

The soul which causeth a beast to live and the soul that causeth it to have sense are both one, that is one certain kind of life more lively and more excellent than the life that is in the plants.

The soul which causes man to live and to have sense and reason is but one, that is one certain kind of life, more excellent, more lively, and of further reach than the life of a beast.

But as sense is, as it were, the form or self-being (if it may be

so termed) of the life of a beast, so is reason or understanding the very form and self-being of the soul of man; and to speak properly it is the soul or life of the soul, just as the apple of an eye is the very eye of our eye.

*There be Three Sorts of Men.*

THE *Earthly Man,* like the plant, that doth nothing but sleep and feed. *The Sensual Man,* as S. Paul terms him, that is a slave to his senses and their pleasures. *The Reasonable Man,* who enters into himself, that he may know himself, and goes out of himself, that he may know God.

As man yields himself more to the one than to the other of these, so he becomes either like unto the plants, or as we say to blockes and stones, or to the brute beasts, or to the spirits. The soul and the body are not one thing, for if the soul were the body or part of the body it would grow with the body, and the greater the body the greater would be the soul. The body increases to a certain age and then stayeth, after which the soul doth most grow, and those who are strongest of mind are commonly the weakest of body. Bid thy soul go to Rome or to Paris and to turn back to another place, it dispatches all these journies in an instant. Wheresover thou directest it, there it is, in a trice, and ere thou callest it back it is home again; therefore it is certain that the soul is no bodily substance.

Now why should any man think that the thing which becometh the stronger by the weakness of the body, should go to dust with the body?

When we see a lively soule in a weake body may we not say that it is as the hatching of chickens — that the shell is broken and then comes out an egg?

Some doe say since man hath sinned through the free will wch God hath given him, how can God be good, having given man wherewith to sin. By the same reasoning we may say, if God be good, why did he make man or any thing for man?

Is the Founder of things to blame if thou killest thyselfe with

them, whereas thou couldst not live without them; or if thou become evil by the things without which thou couldst not be good?

God hath given thee a will, and without will thou couldst not be good; to will he hath added a good wit to guide it, and without wit thou couldst not be wise: if thou be lothe to be wise it is because thou art lothe to be a man.

Thy will was given thee to love God withal. Now love delighteth to be free-hearted, neither would God be loved of us as inchanted to it, but freely and unconstrained — Therefore it behoveth that this will be free.

All the ancient men agreed that there ought to be a religion among men, as certainly nothing can more necessarily follow than a God, a Man, and a Religion: a Father, a Son, and an Obedience; a Master, a Servant, and a Service; a Giver, a Receiver, a Reward, or rather a Lender, a Debtor and a Bond.

Some tell us that the true religion is nothing else but charity, which is the performing of a man's duty toward his neighbour. And men, if they durst, would also tell us that religion is but an instrument of civil government. We say that religion cannot exist without charity, yet that charitie is not the mark whereby to discern the true religion, but to discern who is religious.

Some nations have worshipped as many gods as they have had fancies. The true God was worshipped only in a little nation by the people of Israel, whose footsteps we will follow, and leave them to their follies that made gods of passions, virtues and vices.

The people of Israel had always certain bookes, which we call the Bible or Old Testament, and they received and followed the same as the very word of God.

These bookes have been kept constantly from time to time: for the maintenance of the same they endured many oppressions.

The Word of God is more ancient than all the laws and rules, works and inventions of man.

It is a good question to be asked of the great nations of the world among whom the liberall sciences, arts and learning have been most renowned whether any one of them have had a law set

down in writing concerning the true service of God? Whether amongst them can be found any historie of religion deduced from the first beginning of the world, and so continued on from time to time? But on the contrary part we know that all heathens are driven to confess that the latest writer of our Bible is of more antiquitie than the ancientst authors renowned among the Gentiles.

The Bible, beginning at the Creation of the World and of Man, leadeth us from time to time from Father to Son, even unto Christ. It delivereth us a division of men into Gentiles and Israelites, Idolators and true Worshippers — their joyning together again into one after a certain [manner ?] and by a mean appointed everlastingly to that end by Almightie God. The writers thereof are Moses, Joshua, the Chroniclers of the Judges and Kings, the Prophets every of them in his time, Daniel, Nehemiah and Esdras, of whom even these latest were about 3,600 years after the Creation, and yet were they afore anie Chroniclers of the world were in ye residue of the world.

Esdras is the latest in the Canon of the Hebrew writers, and yet he lived afore the time that Socrates taught in Athens. Touching false gods there is little memorial of them but in the Bible, and that is of ye victories which the true God had over them.

The Heathens themselves testifie of Moses. The Books of Moses were delivered to every tribe. They were read openly every Sabbath day. They were kept carefully in the Arke, and the Arke was kept as carefully by all the tribes.

If it be possible for a book to be kept from falsifying, what rather than the Bible, which was guarded by a million of men, and copied out not by some scriveners only but by all ye people?

Afterwards came Joshua, who renewed the same covenant, proclaiming the law, and yielding record unto Moses. Likewise the Judges succeeded Joshua. Samuel succeeded the Judges. The Kings and the Chroniclers succeeded Samuel, and the Prophets succeeded them all.

These books followed one another immediately, and without interpretation; and every one that followed presupposed the things to be an infallible truth, which had been written by them that went afore. Neither were there any y$^{t}$ did cast any doubts or reprove any of the former histories as is found to be done in other histories. If it be asked whether some subtile men among the Jews had not done it to abuse the rest, I reply, how could that be? seeing it was not in the hands of four or five priests only as the ceremonies of the Latins were, but in the hands of all the people, so that one syllable could not be changed but even the young children might espie it. Also we read not of any king that ever durst presume to add, alter or diminish any jot thereof, whereas all other laws in the world have been made by piece-meal.

The laws w$^{ch}$ are given to man in Scripture are not enjoyned alone to the outward man, but doe pierce the very heart of man. Indeed they require Sacrifices, but they prefer Obedience, and they forbid to covet a lust, which is not found in any of the heathen laws.

The tables of the heathens were devised upon our true histories. Had there never been any dog or horse the poets had not faynd nor painters drawen or Cerberus or Pegasus.

All nations have heard of and believed the general flood for the punishing of mankind. The Ægyptians, Greeks and Romans had it very common amongst them in their writings. And because they heard how it befell in the prime time of the world, and were ignorant of the accounts of the times, all writers of histories did set it down in the time which he thought to be of most antiquitie; as for example, the Thebans referred it to the time of Ogyges, and the Thessalians to y$^{e}$ time of Deucalion.

We have many chymeraces among the ancient writers concerning the creation of the world, according to the diversity of opinions among the philosophers; but was there ever any before the Bible that began account of time, or his historie at the first day of the world?

But that for y$^{e}$ appeasing of God's justice God Himself should

be faine to come down and to take man's flesh upon him, who would say it but onlie God? and who could be believed in that case but He?

Soe also is it concerning the Conception of the Blessed Virgin — concerning the promises that were not to come to pass until 400 years after — concerning y^e^ coming of the Messias, &c. Prophecies are shewed throughout all the Bible.

The promise of Abraham, *Gen.* xv. The testament of Jacob, *Gen.* xlix. Moses in his Song foretold the Coming in of the Gentiles, *Deut.* xxxij. The Prophecies of Josias. 1 *Kings* xiv.

The curse of Joshua against him that should build up Jericho, 1 *Kings* xvi. 34. It came to pass 500 years after. It is s^d^ in the Scripture as a thing already done, viz., it was according as the Lord had spoken by the mouth of Joshua the Son of Nun, to shew that God's word is everlasting, and y^t^ it never overslips the time. [See *Joshua* vi. 26.]

Wonderful is Isaiah in the things which he fortelleth concerning the kingdom of the Messias and the calling of the Gentiles. His manner of inditing was as if he saw things already done in y^e^ respect y^e^ Prophets were called Seers. He saith not "the Lord will do" but "he doth," and oftentimes he saith, "the Lord hath done."

Esay in his 8 chapt. taketh Urias and Zacharias to be witnesses of his Prophecie, who were unborn a hundred years after.

Daniel spake of the Persians, Greeks and Romans, of the *Trannie* [Tyranny ?] of Antiochus, of the unhallowing of the Temple, and of other things that were done 600 years after his time, as of things already come to pass.

It cannot be denied but that when Ptolemy King of Ægypt caused the Bible to be translated by the 70 interpreters, the Prophecy of Daniel was then extant, and was translated with the residue, which was a long time before the Tyrannie of Antiochus.

It is but a reasonable request to desire that they w^ch^ come to read the Scriptures may yield the like regard unto them as they would yield to Homer or Virgil; for when they find in them any

dark sentence they will mark the same with crosses, and leave them to the grammarians to martyr themselves withall.

When in the poets they meet with syllogisms (w^ch^ is incongruity of speech) they by and by say they are elegancies and figures. Let them consider alsoe in the Scriptures that the thing which they think doth at first sight disagree will be found very fit of him that understandes the figure.

If a poet have spoken a word y^t^ seemeth needless or without reason, the schoolmaster then turns it into all senses to find some sense in it, and will rather confess his own ignorance than any imperfection in the poet.

Now if in these Books, confirmed by so many miracles, and proceeding from soe great authority, we meet with things which to our fleshly wit seem unprofitable or absurd, it were good reason we should be diligent in searching them and turning them to all senses.

Some may say y^t^ being by the Scriptures we are taught how much we are fallen away by sin from our Original — that we are fallen from GOD's favour into His wrath — that we are infinitely departed away both from serving Him and sticking to Him &c. What remains but despair?

If so then y^t^ we poor wretches be subject to infinite pains, and have need of remedy, what shall it be? GOD's mercy? But mercy may not be contrary to justice. What then? GOD's justice? No. We have need of mercy. If He shews mercy to an infinite offence where is His justice? or where is His universal government whereby He yieldeth good to the good and evil to the evil?

Againe, if He execute mere justice, what shall become of mankind after this life?

It remaineth then that to appease His wrath, and to make way for mercy, there must be some satisfaction between GOD and man.

Now if man offer the world to GOD it is but what he hath received of GOD.

If man offer himself he offers but unthankfulness and froward deeds.

Let the very angels step in; they are but creatures. All this is but as a plaister too little for the sore.

Conclude we, therefore, that God Himself must step in between His justice and His mercy; that is, one of the three Persons, either God the Father, who is as the Ground and Well-spring; or God the Son, as the Everlasting Word and Wisdom of the Father; or God the Holy Ghost, as the Bond of kindness and love whereby the Father and the Son are linked together. Sith it is soe w$^{ch}$ of them should rather doe it than the Wisdom? considering y$^{t}$ we must be again created anew, and that we were created by the same at the first.

We know that God is infinitely just, and that man is infinitely sinful: the infinite justice due to many infinite offences could not be satisfied but by infinite punishment, or by an infinite reparation, and this infinite reparation could not proceed but from Him that is Infinite, that is, God Himself; therefore our Mediator is God.

This Infinite Godhead is to recompense our disobedience with obedience, our undesert with desert, &c. He is to purchase us grace by punishment, and life by death. Now, to the intent that God might obey, He must abase Himself; to deserve He must serve; to become lowly He must stoop down beneath Himselfe; to suffer He must become weak; and to die He must become mortal.

He must be God and Man — Man to be born under the law, God to perform the law; Man to die, God to triumph over death. Soe the Mediator's obedience becomes a discharge to the disobedience of them that believe in Him, and a purchase, obedience, and desert to them. Also that which is due to His obedience, that is, love; to desert, reward; to humilitie, honour; to His sorrow, joy; to His death, life; to His victory, triumph. The same is purchased and given by Him, and imputed and made due at God's hand to all such as rightly honour that great benefit and call upon the Father in His name.

We know that all of us are conceived in iniquity, and born in

uncleanness and corruption, wherefore it behoveth that the Mediator should be such a man as is conceived after another manner than man is: And this after soe many wonders ought not at all to be counted as a wonder, for He that derived woman out of man without help of woman can derive man out of woman without help of man.

It is very like y^t^ the very heathen had heard that it behoved a man to die for the sins of the world, and therefore they often sacrificed men, thinking by that means to lay the sins of a city or country upon the back of some poor wretch.

Our Lord JESUS CHRIST hath not left us any thing of His owne Life or Doctrine written by Himselfe, because by writing it Himself men might have conceived some suspition thereof. And had He not set down those high things in a high style the common sort would not have understood them. And had He uttered them in a simple style they would have concluded, soe far as they understood, that it had been the word of man, and not the word of GOD.

To shew that the New Testament ought to be of authority among us, we find that the writers thereof lived in the same time that the things were done, and saw the doing of them.

And although at the time of their writing they were far asunder, yet they agree both in the History and the Doctrine. What they wrote the same did they preach and publish openly every where, even while those were alive which could witness thereof — even while their enemies were alive which would have rejoiced to have taken them with untruths. And in the end they signed it with their blood and sealed it with their death.

This we read not to have been done for any other writings. The more particularly things are declared in the New Testament the more easy was it to have discovered untruths, if there had been any, and to have convicted them, for they spake not in Jewry of things done in y^e^ Indies, but at the Gates of Hierusalem, in Bethany, in Bethsaida, in such a Streete, at such a Gate, by such a Poole of Hierusalem itselfe.

Christ being dead, rose the third day as he had foretold (he did not say, like Mahomet, about 800 years hence), so that if any deceit had been therein it would doubtlessly have been discovered.

The doctrine of the Resurrection was common to all true Jews and amongst all the teachers of the Law, who had gathered it out of the Old Testament, as we may read both in the Acts of the Apostles and also in Josephus.

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HISTORY makes men wise; Poets [make them] witty; the Mathematiques, subtill; Philosophie, deep; Moralls, grave; Logick and Retorique, able to contend.

Abeunt studia in mores!

We gather flowers in our gardens from severall borders before we make a posie.

Such will be the following Collection of divers Policies which I pick confusedly out of many authors, good and bad, some shewing what some men doe, others what they sh^d doe.

At Castle Rushen J. Derby.
in y^e Isle of Man.

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*A soft answer appeaseth Wrath.* Prov. xv. 1

*i.e.* If the wrath of a Prince be kindled against thee, Solomon here advises that an Answer be made, and that the same be soft. Take heed of a sullen silence; for that either chargeth the fault wholly upon yourselfe or closely apeacheth your Master of some Injustice, as if his case were not open to a just defence. Take heed also that your Answer be temperate, not harsh, nor presumptive.

*A wise servant shall have Command over a reproachful Son, and shall divide the Inheritance among the brethren.*
Prov. xvii. 2.

*i.e.* It is good in all, especially in disagreeing Families, that some Servant or gentle friend be there that may be powerful with both sides, to moderate and compound the differences. Such a man deserves to be reckoned one of the Brethren, at least to receive a fiduciarie administration of the Inheritance.

*Thy Poverty shall come as a Traveller and thy Want as an Armed man.* Prov. vi. 11.

*i.e.* Prodigals and such like as are careless of their estates, find debt and diminution of stock to fall upon them by insensible degrees, like the soft silent paces of him that travailes; but shortly after necessity will invade him like an armed man, roughly, and so as no resistance can be made. Necessity, said the Ancients, is of all things the strongest.

*He that troubles his own House shall inherit the wind.*
Prov. xi. 29.

*i.e.* Many promise to themselves great matters by the dissention of Wives, the disinheriting of Sons, the often changing of Servants, &c; but for the most part these alterations succeed ill, and it draws upon their persons ill reports and doubtful rumours. The hope of any good by Domestick breaches can but turn to Wind.

*If the Displeasure of a great man rise against thee, forsake not thy place, for pliant demeanour pacifies great offences.*
Ecc. x. 4.

*i.e.* In this case to retire oneself is prejudicial and hurtful, for *first*, this course doth too much noyse abroad the disgrace itself, so as enemies and envyers become more confident to hurt, and friends more fearful to help.

*Secondly*, it comes to pass that the wrath of the Prince which,

perchance, if it had not been published would have died of itself, now becomes more fixed.

Thus, retiring cumulates the evil of indignation to the evil of suspicion. For the cure of this take heed that you seem not insensible, or not so affected as in duty you ought to be for the Prince's displeasure, through stupidity or stubbornness of mind. Compose the countenance not to a sullen sadness but to a modest pensiveness. In all matters of employment you may shew yourself less pleasant than you were wont to be. This, while some friend may seasonably intimate to the Prince with what feeling grief you are inwardly afflicted. Avoyd any occasion whereby the matter that gave the first cause to the Indignation might be renewed. Seek out a new occasion wherein your service may be acceptable to your Prince, shewing a prompt affection to redeem the forepast offence. Thus the Prince may understand what a good servant he may be deprived of if he cast you off. By a wise policy lay the fault upon another or insinuate that it was committed with noe ill intent? Be every way circumspect and intent upon the cure.

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God saw the Builders of Babel were one, and He said let us go down and confound their language, so the Lord scattered them: *Gen.* xi. 6, 7, 8.

To shew
That Division confounds.

When Lot petitioned God that He would give him Zoar for his refuge, Behold, saith he, Thou hast magnified Thyself and Thy mercy to me in saving my life: behold this city is near to fly unto, and a little one. *Gen.* xix. 19 [20.]

To shew
That there is no better way to attain a favour than by illustrating those formerly received.

[There are 21 similar lessons from incidents in the O. Test. and the two following from the N. Test.]

When the Magistrates had beaten Paul and Sylas and heard they were Romans, they sent to release them; but Paul answered, do they thrust us out privily, now that they have beaten us openly. Nay verily, let them come themselves and fetch us out. *Acts* xvi. 36 [37.]

To shew

That for a public injury we should require a public satisfaction.

When Paul perceived that one half were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the counsel, Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee; and when he had so said the multitude was divided. *Acts* xxiii. 6, 7.

To shew

That it is good to take a party to yourself by making a division among your enemies.

Princes ought not to contend in words, lest they the more insense others, or become themselves too passionate, and so may bring their majestie in question. *R. T.*

He who always doubts is never deceived. Wise men believe nothing but what they see, and what they see they often times doubt. *R. T.*[34]

He is the deeper politique y$^{t}$ can make another the instrument of his end and will, not acquainting him with his purpose; soe as he shall do it, not knowing what he does. *K. J.*[35]

To heap benefits on the sullen is to teach men to be sullen. *Tacit.*

I give thee warning, saith Phalaris, to take heed of my revenge, and I rather do soe that thou mayst have a double punishment, first the fear of punishment, and then torment. *Phal. Ep.*

Be well informed how your Prince disposeth of his time, at what hour he is busy, when he would be alone, when in company, when at his sports, &c. Thus while you study how to please him you will not importune him nor molest him. *Card. Sim.*

[34] Eight extracts from this writer. [35] King James?

In apparel avoyd singularitie, gaudiness and profuseness: bee not too early in the fashion nor too late. *Qu.*[*intilian.*]

Let every man's follie be his greatest secret. *Qu.*

Bee not fierce unto thy servant lest he love thee not, nor too remiss lest he fear thee not, nor too familiar lest he prize thee not. *Qu.*

In intestine broyles the worst side is to be of none; in particular quarrels it is a point of wisdom to stand neuter. *Villeroy.*

Engage not y^r^selfe peremptorilye in any thing, though it seem not lyable to accident; but ever have a window to fly out at. Bac: ad:[36]

Sometimes dissemble your knowledge of y^t^ w^ch^ you are knowne to know, and at another time you will be thought to know y^t^ which you do not know. *Bac: Ad:*

There are extracts from Baker's Chronicles, Molinier,[37] Tully, Brit. Rem., &c.

A Soldier in Scotland, some 80 years past, who first mounted the Bulwark of a Fort, &c., was knighted by the general for good service, and an hour afterwards was hanged for that he did it w^th^out command.

Secresie and Celeritie are the two wheels of all great actions. *Ho. St.*

One made this character of Andronicus.

I love at leisure favours to bestow,
And fickle men, by droppings, kindness shew;
But my revenge, I in one instant spend,
That moment which begins it dos it end.

[36] Lord Bacon, "Of the Advancement and Proficiencie of Learning, or the Partitions of Sciences, ix Bookes," Oxf. 1640, fol. There are 19 extracts from the various writings of this great and profound philosopher.

[37] Apparently one of the Du Moulins, French Jurists and Protestant Ministers. The family was noble and, through the Boleyns, related to Queen Elizabeth. Peter du Moulin (in Latin *Molinæus* and in French *Molinier*) was of Christ College, Cambridge, patronised by James I., and the author of many learned works. He died in the year 1658, in his ninetieth year.

Half doeing vndoes manie; 'tis a sin
Not to be soundly sinfull; to begin
And tire! I'll do the work; they strike in vain
Who strike so, that the stricken can complain.

The Bishop of Ely[38] being at Rome had a silly servant that lost his cloke there. The Bishop was angry, and the man for excuse said, he never could imagine that there could be villainy in the Holy Citye. But the master advised the servant when he came into a strange place to thinke all men theives, but never to call them soe. *Brit. Rem.*

Reason should say to Choler as the nurse doth to the child: cry not, and you shall have it. *Sej.*[39]

Among tales that are told some truth is ever stirring. *Sej.*

The least familiarity of a man woundeth the reputation of a woman. *Sej.*

It is good to desist from prosecuting a begun business, when it takes not the right way and course w^ch^ in the beginning was proposed and expected by the undertakers. *C. Ri.*[40]

Love your friend as one that may be your enemie. *C. Ri.*

It is dangerous to trust them too far w^th^ a man's life who may pretend preferment or interest by his death. *Leic. C. W.*[41]

He that is troubled at every harme
Shall never finde his owne coat warme.

[38] It appears that this anecdote is much older than the time of the famous Joe Miller. The Bishop of Ely was probably a fabulous individual.

[39] "History of Œlius Sejanus and Philippa the Catanian, with Considerations on the Life of M. Villeroy, translated from the French by Sir Thomas Hawkins." Lond. 1639, 12mo.

[40] "The whole and true Discoverye of Terra Florida, written in French, by Captain Ribauld, and now newly set forthe in Englishe." Lond. 1563, 16mo.

[41] Leicester's "Commonwealth," a virulent book attacking the character and influence of Dudley Earl of Leicester, first published in 1584, was reprinted in 1641, with a design of producing a bad impression of the Government of Charles I.

*Concerning War.*

THAT Captain may much better be commended who carefully makes provision for those y^t^ follow him and that wisely seeke to prevent extreme necessities than such arrogant and witless fools that make the vaunt of having equally endured with the common soldiers, as if that were a matter of such great glory and importance. *S^r^. W. R.*[42]

They who come nearest to the manner of the Romans in warr, as well in siege as in the field, will prove the best Commanders.

Dragoones in Civill Warrs ruin y^e^ Infantrie, every man desiring to have a nag y^t^ he may be better fitted to rob and pillage. Nevertheless some troops of this kind well ordered may be very usefull either for executions, to gain bad passages, to guard the quarters of horse, or els on a day of battle to cause them to dismount as forlorn hopes before the squadrons of Cavalry.

It is a maxim w^ch^ must most exactly be observed, never to suffer soldiers to be idle in any place, especially when the army is together in a body, for if you employ them not in that which is good, they will employ themselves in that which is bad.

10,000^d^ Foot marching—10 in front, and 1000 horse marching 5 in front w^th^ the lightest baggage they possibly can have, and 10 Cannons w^th^ Equipage for every piece to shoot 100 bullets, take up about 28,000 foot of way in length, whereby you may judge how much 30,000 foot will take.

Therefore when great armyes find themselves in troublesome ways you must divide them into several bodies which may march one after another and lodge severally, &c. *Perft Cap.*

The best fortresses against cannon are those which are made of earth. The gates of cities are assured against Petards, Portcullices, Pallisadoes, Drawbridges, &c.

[42] *Qu.* Sir Walter Raleigh. There are several pages of extracts apparently from a writer on military affairs, and much in the style of Sir Walter Raleigh. One passage is from the "P'fect Cap."

In fortresses observe 4 principal things. 1st That the line of defence be within musquet shot. 2nd That the flanked angle exceed not 90 degrees nor be less than 60. 3rd That the gorge of the Bulwarke be not too narrow, and that the flank be as great as can be. 4. (omitted)

In tyme of Fayres, Marketts, &c., double your guards because men use to spie out such times to frame designs.

You must be in arms at the opening and shutting of ye gates. And in whatsoever time of peace it may be you must never neglect the observation thereof.

In Enterprizes by night you affright an enemy as much with a small troop as with a great one: for it is a maxim, that they wch are surprized and assailed, fight in fear, alwaies persuading themselves yt you assaile them with sufficient forces.

Sieges are undertaken either by blocking up of townes to famish them, or by taking them by force; for both the one and the other you ought to be the master of the field. You must have two armies, one to hinder the enemy from undertaking any thing and the other to forme your siege.

To withstand a Siege, a Town or Fort must be, 1 well fortified, 2 a sufficient number of soldiers, 3 a store of vittailes, 4 store of arms and munition of warr. These four things are soe necessary as if there were an abundance of three of them and the fourth wanting the rest will serve for nothing. An Inventory must be taken of all Iron, Wood, Linner Instruments to work in the ground &c., Drugges for Surgeon, artificial Fires, &c., and to avoyd disorders in the distribution of these things there must be a Councill which must have the oversight thereof and wch shall cause all to be delivered out and received in according to the order of the Governor or Councill of Warr. Sickness and Famine get soonest into an army by the rascalitie of soldiers' boys.

There can never be in an army too many spies and guides, but both of them must be faithful, for advising you falsely and guiding you maliciously may cause you to fall into great dangers. Spies must not know of each other lest they agree and give false advice,

for by the agreement or disagreement of their advices you may judge whether they be good.

When you discover Trayters you may make a profitable use of them by feigning that you believe them to be faithfull, and giving them commissions which they may discover to the enemie that you have some designe quite contrary to that which you intend to put in execution, that soe whilst he is preparing himself for one side, you maie attempt something upon the other. But this is not all — bewarre of y^r^ owne spies. You must take heed of those of the enemy in y^r^ owne Campe, for this reason, besides the secresie w^ch^ must be used in all enterprizes, it is good to give a charge by publishing in a still way that you have a quite contrary design to y^t^ w^ch^ you put in execution that so those spies may so report it to y^r^ enemy. The best means to be well served by spies is to be be liberall unto them, for they are faithfullest to those that give most.

[Much more to the same effect and on the same subject.]

Concerning the inviting of Hereticks to Repentance, with promise of clemencie and grant of a safe conduct, Padre Paul in his *Hist. of the Council of Trent*,[43] says, there were divers opinions among the Legates; one was for a general pardon, saying that many w^d^ be gained thereby, and that it was a remedy used by all Princes in Seditions and Rebellions to pardon those whom they cannot overcome, because by that means those that are less faultie doe retire y^t^ others doe remaine more weake, and although but few were gain'd or but only one, yet was it to be done though none at all c^d^ be gain'd, it being gaine to use and shew clemencie.

Another s^d^ this w^d^ be dangerous because many are induced to transgress when they see it easie to get a pardon.

That it is sufficiencie to shew clemencie to him y^t^ desireth it; but to carry it after him y^t^ demands it not, or doth refuse it, makes men careless of themselves.

[43] "The History of the Council of Trent," by Father Paul, was translated from the original by Sir Nathaniel Brent, Lond. 1619, folio; and other editions of the same appeared in the years 1640 and 1676.

Though rigour be a hard thing to him that feeleth it, yet is it that which keeps many in their dutie.

Some men have in readiness so many tales and stories as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale w^ch^ seemeth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure. Thus did Gondamore[44] in K. Ja. time.

Audacter calumniare semper aliquid hæret.

As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour.

Interrupt not men in y^e^ middle of their talke.

Never trust thy enemie; for like as iron rusteth so is his wickedness; though he humble himself and goe (Scot-like) crouching, yet take good heed.

Sound sleep comes of moderate eating: he riseth early and his wits are with him.

Shew not thy valiantness in wine.

Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words, but as one that knoweth and yet holds his tongue.

A Prince y^t^ is much seene is little worth.

When any question is made of a conspiracie ag^t^ a Prince all intercessions are suspected. *S.*[*alisbury*?]

[44] Count Gondamor was Ambassador from the King of Spain to James I., and "became all things to all men" for political purposes. He was subtle and specious, and undoubtedly an overmatch for the English Solomon, in double-dealing and finesse.

Pity healeth envy, wherefore you may observe y^t^ the deeper and more sober sort of politick persons in their greatness are ever bemoaning themselves w^th^ what a life they lead, chanting a quanta patimur, not that they fret it soe but only to abate the edge of envy. *Bac:*[*on.*]

Who seldom commands is always obeyed.

Weigh pleasures with their dangers.

Who does wrong forgives not.

The Lord of Salisbury[45] (my mother's uncle), secretary to Queen Elizabeth, never came to her with bills to signe but he first put her into some discourse of state, that soe she might less mind the bills.

I know one that when he wrote a letter would evermore put that w^ch^ was most material in the postscript, as if it had bene but a bye matter.

In determining of controversies between man and man in suits of law &c. passions which come between are they that make delayes, and be the greatest enemies of justice and dispatch.

To go against his own nature is to tempt God, to spit against y^e^ heavens, to leave the business undone because he cannot doe it, &c. (*Cha. de la Say.*)

Court friendship is a cable that in storms is ever cut.

[45] Robert Cecil first Earl of Salisbury, younger son of Lord Burghley, a man of great industry but artful and insincere, died in 1612. His sister Ann was the wife of the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, whose daughter married William sixth Earl of Derby, K.G.

S. J. M. the friend of G. B. gave him this counsel when he came to serve. We doe like P. who you see thrives well &c. because he not only doth the duty of a true servant, but is most in the company and familiaritie of those that his Lord esteemes.

Treason never prospers: what's the reason?
Why, if it prosper, who dares call it Treason?

Love is a fitt, and soon is past
Ill dyet onlie makes it last;
Who is still looking, gazing ever,
Drinks wine in th' very height o'th' fever.

If I gaze now 'tis but to see
What sort of Death's-head it will be
When it is free
From that fresh upper skin
The gazer's joy and sin.

I have heard say 'tis still the wisest course
To quit that soon which one must quit per force.
(*Pastor Fido.*)
Open foes are easier to evade
Than Ambushes that are in Friendship laide.

When men grow fast, honoured and loved, there is a trick in state (w$^{ch}$ jealous princes never faile to use) how to decline that growth with fair pretext and honourable colours of employment, either by embassie, the warr, or such, to shift them forth into another air where they may purge and lessen &c. *B. J.*[*onson?*]

When Queen Elizabeth demanded aid from the House of Commons she came always in great state. She called not any up to the Higher House from the Lower during the sessions, knowing very well y$^{t}$ one man's sodaine advancement proves envious to 400

of his equalls. Neither did she goe about to master the multitude by y^e^ nobility, nor again war the nobility with the multitude, conceiving both marks of disease and no healthful state in monarchy. Neither did she with one breath proscribe and restore, as her ancestors were forced to doe in y^e^ Barons' Wars, in some confined parliament imprisoning and releasing unjudicially, but coming on the stage a commander and no petitioner among those times authorized assemblies, she preserved her state above the affronts of nobility or people, wisely foreseeing that every excess of passion expressed from the Monarchy in Acts or Counsels of State infallibly would stir up in the people the like cobwebs of popular spinning. Therefore from these piercing grounds she concluded y^t^ a steady hand in the government of sovereignty would ever prove more prosperous than any nimble or witty practice of crafty, imperious, shifting or forcing humour.

William of Nassau Prince of Orange[46] (my wife's grandfather) observing excellent qualities in Sir Philip Sidney,[47] recommended him to Queen Elizabeth. But princes love not that foreigne powers should have extraordinary interests in their subjects, much less to be taught by them how they should place their owne, as arguments upbrayding ignorance or lack of rewarding goodness.

[46] William Prince of Orange formed the famous Union of Utrecht in the year 1579, and was the first Statholder. By his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon he had issue a daughter, who married Claude de la Tremouille Duke of Thours, whose heroic daughter was the wife of James seventh Earl of Derby, K.G. William second Prince of Orange (grandson of the great Statholder) married in 1640-1 Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England, and their posthumous son, William III., the next in succession at his father's death in 1650, married Mary, daughter of King James II. and Anne Hyde; and, in her right, was proclaimed King of England.

[47] Sir Philip Sidney first formed an intimacy with the great Prince of Orange in 1576 whilst ambassador to the court of Vienna. At the early age of twenty-two Queen Elizabeth promoted him to that office, his great talents having been brought under her Majesty's notice by his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. He afterwards carried on a correspondence with the Prince of Orange, but his merits had been previously recognized at the English court. — Zouch's *Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney.* 4to York, 1808.

I was told of a regiment of horse which was quartered in a towne and very troublesome to the citizens; but a few good fellowes in one night soe contrived the matter that a certain poyson was mingled with their oats so as in the morning a small partie of their friends' horses, w^ch^ they sent for, coming sudainly in, and with a strong alarm, the troopers ran immediately to the stables, where they found their horses in ill-ease, and were presently in worse themselves, because at the mercy of their enemies.

Soe far a man ought to make use of *Suspicion* as to provide that if it should be true w^ch^ he suspects, it may do him no harme.

I know one y^t^ sent to his friend through the enemy's army a very long letter by a young woman who suffered herself to be searched, and also swore truly that she understood not any message that was to be delivered by her. It was thus. She had a white westcoat on her back embrodered with black silk in such characters as were only intelligible to him that caused it to be so wrought, and to the other to whom she was to give it.

At that time it had been discovered if any letter whether in cipher or not had been sent in the most secret manner, as to have made it very little and put the same in lead like a bullet, which upon occasion might have been swallowed, or in a stick a hole being made in the same and closed up, or written upon the inside of the pockets &c. Nothing of this kind had then been usefull, for the enemie was very jealous and strictlye tryed to make discoveries of that sort by stripping persons naked lest any thing was written on the skin, giving physic to those they suspected to bring out any thing that might be taken inward. They also ript and cut all the clothes, hatts, shoes &c. But the *wascoate* which was so much in the eye, which it may be also that the wench washt before them, was of any thing the least examined.

Once a wounded man carried a little *billet* in the tent, which was *in the wound,* and had good success.

*Ciphers* which may either signifie words or sentences, names of men, countries, towns, houses &c.[48]

Table of proportion of English royal ordnance — height of the peece — weight of the shot — weight of the powder.

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*Maxims of Machiavel.*
*With some Observations against him.*[49]

THAT good counsel ought to be from the Prince his own wisdom, &c. *Because* no man is of requisite honesty and sufficiency, and the council of many is oftentimes discordant and contentious.

Yet some Princes, the wiser they are, will the more suspect their own opinions, *Because* they believe that the wisdom which is in them should persuade them not to believe themselves too much. A Prince that is not wise may yet have the reputation of wisdom, if he make choice of good councillors. Men attribute the effect of things to Princes by whose authority things are done.

*Of Religion.*

That a Prince seem devout though he be not so indeed, to the end he may be esteemed: *Because* the world looks to the exterior, judges of actions, not by the causes but by the issue and the end. Suppose that some who narrowly frequent the Prince's company doe discover his fayned devotion, yet he or they dare not oppugn the multitude who believe the Prince to be seriously devout.

[48] An alphabet of signs or cyphers is given in the MS., and was doubtless understood, and used, by the writer, and his confidential friends.

[49] Nicolo Machiavelli was born at Florence in the year 1469, and died in 1529. The great political lesson which he laboured to teach rulers, and which he reduced to a system in his manual called *The Prince*, was, that "the fox can do more than the lion," *i.e.* be a good hypocrite, you will never want dupes. Lord Derby's thoroughly English nature, his religion and patriotism, alike revolted at this popular Continental art of governing.

That a Prince ought to sustain and confirm what is *false* in religion, if so it turns to the favour thereof.

Prudent Princes will allow and countenance *false* miracles as a means to augment the people's devotion. For when the people see that the Prince approves them, none will make any difficulty to believe them. The Romans made their subjects to believe them by deceitful miracles. They caused to be published what they read in the Sybil's books, or that they had consulted with the oracle of Apollo, or that they had such and such a revelation, or that the flight of birds or other such like tokens had signified unto them some good answer or divination. Soe the people being persuaded they were true, they willingly obeyed what they were commanded by their captains and magistrates, as if the gods themselves commanded them.

That the Paynim religion lifts up men's hearts and makes them hardy to enterprize great things, &c.

That the great doctors by great ostentation and stiffness have sought to abolish the remembrance of all good letters and antiquity. Because, saith he, (but wickedly and foolishly,) that they do like the Paynim religion to the religion that was before. (Sects and religions changing and varying twice or thrice in 5 or 6000 years, and the last always makes to perish the remembrance of all that had been before it, and if any reliques were kept of the memorie thereof they were held for fables.)

[Now we know very well that the ceremonies w^ch^ in time past the Paynims used in their sacrifices were but apish imitations of such sacrifices as were ordained of God: as the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which the Grecians made to prosper them in the war they enterprized against Troy, what was it but an imitation of Jeptha, &c. In my Book of Collections out of the Trueness of the X'n Religion, by Du Plessy[50] &c.,

[50] Philip de Mornay, lord of Plessis Marny, an illustrious French Protestant, privy counsellor of Henry IV. and governor of Saumur, was born in 1549 and died in 1623. Du Plessis published in 1578 his treatise *Concerning the Church*, in which he explained

this and the like opinions of Machiavell are easily answered; but concerning the time of y^e^ beginning of the world, and the Books of Moses and other Scriptures [that these] were the first books, are confessed by the Paynims of all ages. What has been since writ by them was in imitation of what they there found.]

The Roman Catholic Church is the cause of all y^e^ calamities in Italie, *Because* its continual practice is to sow discords and partialities, by w^ch^ means Italie, which heretofore was the most flourishing province of the Roman empire, is now dismembered and cut into petty seignories.

his motives for leaving the Romish and embracing the Protestant religion, and which he dedicated to Henry, king of Navarre. In the following year this work was translated into English by John Feilde, and dedicated to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, K.G. In the year 1579 he began his celebrated book *Upon the Truth of the Christian Religion.* In 1582 he dedicated this learned work to Henry IV. while he was king of Navarre only, and the year afterwards it was translated by himself into Latin. In 1592 he was appointed to confer with M. de Villeroy, the French Minister of State, upon the subject of the king's religion, but the extravagant demands of Villeroy rendered the conference abortive. Du Plessis ineffectually opposed the king's embracing the Popish religion.

THE

# HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

# ISLE OF MAN,

*BY JAMES 7th EARL OF DERBY AND LORD OF MAN.*

With an Account of his many Troubles and Losses in the Civil Wars; and of his own Proceedings in the Isle of Man during his residence there in 1643.

Interspersed with large and excellent advice to his Son CHARLES LORD STRANGE upon many curious points.

*From the Original (all of his Lordship's own handwriting), in the hands of the* Honorable ROGER GALE Esq.

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WITH NOTES BY FRANCIS PECK, M.A.

[*Desiderata Curiosa*, 1732, fol. vol. ii. pp. 19-42.]

# *HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES*

*OF THE*

# *ISLE OF MAN.*

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## Chap. I.

1. *The* **Isle of Man** *sometime governed by Kings, Natives of its own.* 2. Druids *there. Converted by S.* Patric. 3. *Given by* Henry IV. *to Sir* John Stanley. *He & his Heirs stiled Kings, till Earl* Thomas II. *thence only Lords.* 4. *Disputed between the three daughters of E.* Ferdinand *& his Brother* William. *Settled by Act of Parliament (thro'* Cecil *E. of* Salisbury, *& his Neice the Countess of* Derby's *Means) on* William, *with the Words* Jura Regalia, *&c.* 5. *The Bishop,* 6. *& Governor, chosen by the Lord; which last is Chancellor. Two Demsters (or Judges of the Common Law) & xxiv. Keys, Natives.**

1. THE Kingdom of **Man** belongeth to the House of **Derby**, in which Familie the Lord continue it while Men live on Earth. It hath heretofore been governed by Kings, Natives, & others. Sometimes conquer'd, & [sometimes] gallantly defended; as in Storie you may reade.

2. There have certaine wise Men dwelt there, who were called *Druides;* of whom be many pleasant Tales. Among other Matters they had Skill by Enchantment to make Mists, whereby they hid themselves from their Enemies; at other Times offended them. But when S. *Patrick* or some holie Man (as divers doe believe) came here, they had no farther Power, but, being taught Christianitie, became Christians; & soe have continued to this Day.

3. It was given by *Henry* IV. to Sir *John Stanley*, who was

* The division into chapters and contents is by Peck. — Ed.

call'd King of Man, & soe stil'd himselfe & all his Successors, to *Thomas* II. Earl of Derby, as appeares by several Writings under their own Hands.[1] But since, of Modestie or Policie, I know not well which, they have call'd themselves only Lords of Man.[2]

4. Upon the Death of *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* (who left three Daughters, & noe Sonne) it was disputed betwixt the Coheirs & *William* Brother to *Ferdinand*. In King *James* his Time the Matter was ended, &, by Act of Parliament, it was settled to *William* & his Sonn *James*, & their Heirs for ever. *Robert* [*Cecil*] Earle of *Salisbury* was a good Friend in the Businesse; & *Elizabeth* Countesse of *Derby* (Wife to *William*, Daughter to the Earl of *Oxford*, & Neece to the said E. of *Salisbury*) did follow that Businesse also very closs. It is confirmed by the said Act of Parliament unto the House of Derby, with the Words *Jura Regalia*, &c. & as full Power as Sir *John Stanley* had it.[3]

[1] In the 7. *H.* IV. upon the Forfeiture of *Henry Percy*, Earl of Northumberland, Sir *John Stanley* being sent to seize the Isle of Man, formerly given to that Earl; obtained a Grant in Fee of the same Isle, Castle & Pele, & all the Isles adjacent; as also of all the Regalities, Franchises, & Rights thereunto belonging; & Patronage of the Bishoprick there; to be held of the King, his Heirs, & Successors, by Homage, the service of two Falcons payable on the Days of their Coronation. *Dugd.* (*a Pat.* 7. *H.* 4. *M.* 18.) II. 247. *b.*

[2] *Thomas* came to be Earl 1. E. 4. & the Isle of Man & Title of King being given his Ancestors by *Henry* IV. (the chief of the House of Lancashire, who took it from Northumberland, a Friend of the House of York,) it was very prudent in Earl *Thomas* II. (now *Edward* IV. the chief of the House of York was come to the Crown) to wave his Title of King, & content himself with that of Lord of Man.

[3] Upon the Death of *Ferdinand* E. of *Derby*, who had three Daughters, *Anne*, married to *Grey Bruges* Lord *Chandos*; *Frances*, to Sir *John Egerton* Knt. (afterwards Earl of *Bridgwater*) & *Elizabeth*, to *Henry* Lord *Hastings* (afterwards E. of *Huntingdon*) *William* his Brother & Heir Male succeeding him in his Honors, a Dispute arose betwixt those Heirs Female of him, touching the Title to the Isle of Man. Queen *Elizabeth* therefore not being ignorant, that not only divers Runagates of the *English*, but *Spaniards* (her Enemies) might resort thither; committed the Charge thereof to Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knight (afterwards Lord *Gerard*) 'till that Controversy should be judicially determined. The Decision of which Point being brought before her learned Council; they declared, that the Right thereof did solely appertain to her Majesty; & that the *Stanleys*, & Earls of *Derby*, had no good Title thereto; by Reason that King *Henry* IV. shortly after he attained the Crown of this Realm, upon the Outlawry of *William Scrope* (then Lord thereof) bestowed it on *Henry* Earl of

5. The Bishop is chosen by the Lord, the Bishoprick is in the Province of **Yorke.**

6. The Lord appoints a Governor, sometimes called Captaine, sometimes Lieutenant; who hath the Power of the Lord in his Absence. He keepeth the *Chancery* Court; where he sitteth Judge. There be two Demsters or Judges alsoe, chosen by the Lord, most commonly Natives, by Reason of the Language. They be Judges of the Common Law. There are four & twenty called Keys, who, in all great Matters concerning the Country, are advised withall. Sometimes there be four of every Parish joyned with them by Order of the Lord, when any great Matter concerning the Land is in Hand. But more particularly hereof if I have Leisure [when] I will annex hereunto some more perfect Description of this Island & Lawes. And, before I proceede farther in my intended Discourse, I thinke fit to tell you, as breefely as I can, the Occasion of my Coming thither this Time.

*Northumberland;* &, upon his Rebellion (about six Years after) granted it to *John Stanley* for Life, *Northumberland* not then being by Parliament attainted; nor his Possessions adjudg'd to be confiscate: As also, for that (about a Month after) *Stanley* & the King agreed, that those Letters Patents to him for his Life should be surrendered & cancell'd; & that he should have an Estate thereof in Fee. So that, considering the Grant for Life, was before such Time as the King was legally intitled thereto by *Northumberland*'s Attainder; they pronounced, that the King could not pass unto him any Estate for Life: as also, that the other Grant, which had its Foundation from the Surrender of the Estate for Life, could not be of any Validity. Whereupon the Queen referring them to the Law; this Earl came to an Agreement with those Heirs Female (Daughters to *Ferdinand* E. of *Derby* beforementioned) paying them divers Sums of Money to quit their Claim thereto; as also with *Thomas* Lord *Ellesmere* (then Lord Chancellor of *England*) & *Alice* his Wife, Widow of the same Earl *Ferdinand.* And, as to the King's Title, obtained a Grant from him of the said Isle, with all the Regalities belonging to it, unto himself, & to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Wife, for Life; as also to the Survivor of them; & after that unto *James* Lord *Stanley* (for so he is called) his Son & Heir, & to the Heirs Male of his Body; the Remainder to *Robert Stanley,* younger Brother to the said *James,* & the Heirs Male of his Body; & for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs Male of the Body of the said Earl. Which Grant bears date 7. *July,* vij. *Jac.* I. & was ratified, together with that Agreement with the Coheirs beforementioned, by a special Act of Parliament dated 9. *Feb.* vij. *Jac.* I. as by the Record thereof returned into the *Chancery,* by Writ of *certiorari,* bearing Date 30. *July* viij. *Jac.* I. appeareth. *Dugd. Bar.* Vol. II. p. 250. *b.*

## Chap. II.

1. *The State of the Rebellion in* 1643. *the King's Character.* 2. *the E. of* Strafford's *Trial; Imprisonment of the King's Children;* 3. *the Rebels mocking of the King, & of God himself, touched.* 4. *a Civil War always the worst, especially in* Ireland. 5. *The Earl's own Sufferings;* 6. *beloved by his Neighbors, of whom he raises* 3000 *Men for the King's Service; who lend all their Arms to the King; which they lose; as also the Money allowed for them.* 7. *The Rebels in* Lancashire, *encouraged by the Parliament, fortifie* Manchester, *& harass the disarmed Loyalists. Yet the Earl keeps the greatest Part of the Country honest, 'till sent by the* Lancashire *Gentry to request Aid of the Queen at* York. 3. *In his Absence the Enemy subdue the whole County,* Latham House *& Sir* John Girlington's *excepted. And,* Newcastle *being defeated at* Wakefeild, *no Aid to be had. The Remains of his* Lancashire *Forces follow the Earl to* York. *Where he is informed of a Design on the* Isle of Man *by some* Scots; 9. *& advised to go thither; but chuses rather to assist in guarding the Queen to the King at* Oxford. 10. *'Till fresh Letters coming, that the Islanders were ready to revolt, were all taking the Covenant, had rescued some Prisoners committed by the Governor, had invited Strangers to come in, & that a Guard-Ship of the Earl's was taken by a Parliament Squadron, he, with the Queen's Leave, repairs thither.* 11. *Whereupon some, not knowing how Things stood, think him a Deserter, or at best but a Neuter; both which he disclaims.* 12. *What he here writes as to these Matters is only to satisfy his Son,* 13. *whom he commends.*

1. IT hath been the Will of God, that in the Year 1643. (wherein a generall Plague of Madnesse possest the Mindes of most Men in Christendome; of which the Dominions of the King of *Great Britain* have most Reason to be sensible) his Subjects there, by soe long a Peace being unacquainted with the miserable Effects of War, grew wearie of their good Condition, & stirred their Hearts unto a Rebellion against the most vertuous, pious & clement Prince that ever England had.

2. Soe, beginning in Parliament to shew a thirstie Desire of

humane blood, they first accused the Earle of *Strafford;* &, his Majestie giving Way unto a fayre Tryall against him, the People made badd Use thereof. For, like Wolves, that, after their first Tasting of Man's Blood, grow bold, & rather madd of more; soe doe they. But, worse than Beasts, they make noe Difference of Drinkes. For they be now become ravenous of Royall Blood, & have shewed the same in Warring against their Prince; taking some of his Children Prisoners, & seeking his Life severall Times.

3. Yet worse, they mock him dayly. For they say, It is for Good unto him. But they mock God alsoe. For they call him unto Witness dayly of his own Dishonour; pretending, they fight his Quarrel, for the Gospell, *&c.*

4. This hath caused a Civill Warre, which, of all Sortes, is most unhappie; but worst in **England** & Islands, than other Countries. The Reasons are plaine. And what Commotions were in **Scotland**! What Calamities in **Ireland**! What continuall Groanes in **England** (when we are dead) after Ages will know best! Meane while we *English* feele the worst that ever Nation did. Nor can any Story tell soe foolish, soe wicked, soe lasting a Warre in **England**.

5. All this I speake because my Share is great in this Calamitie. But I have suffer'd for God's Sake, for the King, for my Country, & my Honour; soe as I repent me not. And I expect the Lord will shortly say to the destroying Angell, It is enough: *Amen.*

6. I was happie, in the Beginning of this Warre, to have the general Applause of my Neighbours, as one they would like to follow, as they did my Ancestors before me. But, whether was more in their Mindes, to continue a Custome, or that they loved my Name, or my Person? I will not say; this I know, there were 3000 good Men of my Raysing went forth of **Lancashire** & other Places of my Lieutenancie; & my Sorrow, to see the King in soe badd a Condition, did make me, & all well affected to a good Cause, to spare noe Cost or Hazard whatever to assist him in his soe just a Quarrell. Soe as we lent the King all our Armes; & he graciously gave his Warrant that we might receave as many from

Newcastle, for the Defence of our Countries. But some Body was in Fault, so that his Majestie's Warrant was not obeyed, nor we secured by Armes or Ammunition. Alsoe his Majestie did allow a sufficient Summe of Money, which some of his Servants kept for other Uses. I will not take Occasion hereby to fall upon Particulars. But this will be justified, that the King had good Intents for us; that I have discharged a good Conscience in all; & my Honor is safe in Spight of the worst Detractors.

7. God would punish us with a general Judgment, & the best of us, in everie one's particular, have deserved no lesse. Hereby those ill affected in Lancashire grew proude, & the baser Sort thought it a fine Thing to sett against the great Ones. But they have done soe unto our King; wherefore I will lesse mervaile. The Parliament encouraged & assisted them with Money & Ammunition, with which they fortified the Towne of Manchester. From which the ungodly Rebells have sallied divers Times on them who were naked, without Armes, & could not resist them. While we expected Help, they insulted. Soe as we were forced to many desperate Services, wherein God did mervelously blesse us; &, unlesse he would please to worke more Miracles than he ever did since Christ, I hardly can imagine how the Countrey could be kept. Yet he shewed to those Rogues, that all their Strength could not so soone bring to passe their great Ambition, but I, making Head with those who durst take my Part on so uneven Termes, kept the greatest Part of Lancashire in Spight of them. And (knowing that the Queene was at Yorke with great Forces, a Part of which might easily reduce our Countrey, & enable us to rayse great Forces for his Majestie) it was therefore desired by all the Gentry, that I would goe to the Queene, representing their Necessities, & the great Good unto her selfe & those Parts by Helping us. Which I did; leaving yet some considerable Forces in Lancashire under the Government of the Lord *Mollineux* & other of our Side (with whome nevertheless is a large Story of the great Troubles I had with them, as well as with the Enemy, before I could possibly return.)

8. In my Absence the Enemy possessed themselves of the whole Country, saving my House & Sir *John Girlington*'s. The Misfortune happening at that very Time to my Lord *Newcastle* at Wakefield, prevented the Queene's good Purposes, who promised me Part of those Forces. Soe as the [Lancashire] Troops yet remayning [took their] Journey towards Yorke, conceiving to have found me there. But ill Fortune, which seldom comes alone, made now the Proverb true. That same Time a Report was gott of some *Scots*, intending to assist the pretended Parliament of England, that they would land in the North, &, by the Way, doe their Endeavour to get the Isle of Man; which doubtlesse had been a great Inconvenience to his Majestie's Affairs, for many Reasons.

9. Hereupon I was advised to go immediately for the Isle of Man to secure it for his Majestie's Service, as well as in Wisdome to preserve my owne Inheritance. But I gave no Heede to that Report; but continued my Desire to wayte upon the Queene in her Journey to Oxford, where his Majestie then was.

10. Mean while I received Letters from the Isle of Man, intimating the great Danger [of a Revolt] there. For that the People had begun the Fashion of England in Murmuring, & by some damned Spiritt had been taught the same Lessons as I have known in London, to come in tumultuous Manner, desiring new Lawes; a Change of the Old; that they would have noe Bishops; pay no Tithes to the Clergie. They despised Authority, & rescued some committed by the Governor, for such insolent Behaviour; & the like. It was also feared that they had discovered themselves thus farr, thereby to invite some Strangers into the Island. It was bruited alsoe that a Ship of Warr, I then had for Defence of this Isle, was taken by Parliament Shipps: which proved true. All these considered, it behoved me to prevent the Mischeife betimes, both for his Majestie's Service & mine own Good. Her Majestie & those with her rightly weighed the Danger; as witnesse my Lord *Goring*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Jermyn*, Sir *Edward Deering*, & many more. All who were of Opinion that my Coming hither was necessarie; & accordingly I did.

11. Thus farr have I digressed from my intended Discourse to take off that Objection if I were asked, when every gallant Spiritt had engaged himself for King & Country, why I left the Land, soe wicked as to desert the Cause, soe simple as to become a Neuter; & many such like Questions? For all which I have here given some Reason, which may easily content myself, who remember well all the forenamed Circumstances.

12. How others may be pleased herewith I know not; [but] rather thinke these shorte Relations may more puzzle their Mindes, if any chance to see this but you, my Sonn, who are bound to beleive well of your Father.

13. But I am bound to be thankfull to the Almighty that soe well you understand yourselfe & me. But, I thanke God, I feare none who understands me, or understands me not.

## Chap. III.

1. *The Earl's Coming very opportune,* 2. *who had a good Lieutenant* (*Capt.* Greenhalgh) *there, or else the Island had been lost. Cautions about Favorits.* 3. *The Lieutenant's politic Management to prevent a Mutiny.* 4. *The Master's Understanding discernible by the Choice he makes of his Servants. Many great Families undone by bad Servants.*

1. The Almightie sent me in good Time heither. For by most it was believed a few Days had ended the happie Peace which this Island had so long enjoyed.

2. When the People knew of my Coming they were much affected with it; as all strange & new Things usually doe please the common Sort. This Good I found, that my Lieutenant, ere my Coming, had most wisely managed the Business & exercised his Patience, seeing soe generall a Disorder among the People; who, he knew, were to be wonne, as you tame wild & sturdie Beasts, by Scratching & Clawing, not too violently Wresting, lest they knowe their owne Strength & turne. And who soe powerfull a Prince, that, if a Multitude doe sett against him, being alone or with a

few, can well be able to resist? As it is not therefore Good that the common People know their owne Strength; soe is it safest to keep them ignorant of what they may doe, & give them dayly Occasion to admire the Power of their Lord. And this is to be done when he often exercises his Justice & his Mercie. The one without too much Rigour, & still according to the Lawes; the other without Softnesse, & upon fitt Objects alsoe, to make it ever his owne Act. For an Act of Grace, or whatever is good & pleasing must come immediately from yourself. And therefore let it never be knowne that such a particular one hath Power, or needs persuade you to what is good. And, for this Purpose, if you be jealous that the World thinks such a One your Adviser, be sure sometime to deny that Man something; that all Men may take Notice thereof, & that Reason is your Ruler. If any Thing prove harsh, of that lett any bear a Share. And when you denie or afflict, lett another's Mouth pronounce itt.

3. The Captaine, before my Coming, when he thought to terrifie the People by imprisoning a sawcie Fellow in the Face of the Rabble, observ'd them very resolute. And some spake it alowde, that they all would fare as that Man did. Which he warily did not seeme to heare; but then only threatned that Man to lay him by the Heels, &, if he continued in that sawcie Manner, he would punish him severely; knowing very well, that, if he had imprisoned him at that Time, then the rest had rescued him; which would have made them see their owne Power, & how little his Staffe of Office could annoy them. He then therefore broke up the Court, adjourning it to another Time: wishing them, in the mean while, to sett their Complaints in Writing; & with good & fayre Words (as he well can do it) promised to redresse all their just Grievances as far as lay in his Power, & for that Purpose would send over immediately to me on their Behalf, without whom, he told them, noe Lawe could be changed. Whereat, for the present, they were very well satisfied; & soe went every Man to his Home.

4. Hereby you may observe, First, the Benefitt of a good Governor here. And soe indeed is it of any Servant in any Office of

Trust. For the first Conjecture one usually will give of a great Man & of his Understanding, is, upon Sight of his Followers & Servants, whether they be able & faithfull. For then is he reputed wise, as having Knowledge to discern. I know many great Families of England ruin'd, that when I have asked the Reason, usually the Answer was, 'In good Fayth it is great Pitty — he is 'well borne — hath had many gallant Gentlemen of his owne 'Name — He himself is an honest Gentleman — very kind-'natur'd, & very liberall — But hath ill Servants.' He might as well have said in short, his Lordship is a very Foole, & his Men be Knaves.

## Chap. IV.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *The Earl's Reasons for Chusing Captaine* Greenhalgh *his Lieutenant.* 9, 10. *How best to deal with the Multitude in Case of a Tumult.*

1. These be the Reasons for the Choice I made of Captain *Greenhalgh* to be Governor here.

2. First, he is a Gentleman well borne; & such will usually scorne to doe a base Act.

3. His Ancestors have formerly dwelt in my House; as the best, if not all the good Families in Lancashire have done. This certainly might breed a Desire in the Man, that the House, where his Predecessors have served, might still flourish. And, belike, he would willingly endeavour to be an Instrument thereof himselfe.

4. He hath a good Estate of his owne. And therefore need not borrow of another. Which hath heretofore been a Fault in this Country. For that Governors, who have wanted, were forced to be beholden unto those that, may be, were the Parties most offending against Lord & Countrey. The Borrower becomes Servant to the Lender.

5. He was a Deputie Lieutenant & Justice of Peace in his Countrey. In which Places he did his King & Countrey good Service. And with good Reputation.

6. He govern'd his owne Affaires well. He was therefore much more likelie to doe mine so.

7. He hath been approved valiant. And is therefore fitter for your Trust.

8. He is such, that I thank God for him. And I charge you love & cherish him.

9. When the People are bent to Mischief, it is Folly openly & rashly to oppose them, but in what you be sure to make good with sufficient Power of Force, *&c.* Neither is [it] Discretion to yield to them too much. For Reason will never persuade a senseless Multitude. But, keeping your Gravitie [& State,] comply with them; &, as the Captaine did, defer the Matter; making them believe you will forward their owne Desires: By which you may take Time to compasse your owne. Seem, for the present, as if convinced with their reasons, not with Apprehension of the least Danger from them. By the next Meeting you may have, under-Hand, taken off some of their chief Champions, either by good Words (feeding them with some Hopes) or happly a Reward. If none of these will doe, you may cutt them short of their Journey another Waie, & entertaine them in your Castle.

10. It is to be noted what great Care the Captaine had to keep up my Authoritie, & to awe the People with the same; which he did, not in any threatening Manner. For soe it might have occasioned the People, in that madd Moode, to oppose the same by some daring Deeds or Words.

## Chap. V.

1. *The Earl's Advice to his Son about chusing a good Bishop,* 2. *improving the Bishopric,* 3. *obliging the Bishop to Residence.* 4. *The Danger of a factious Bishop.* 5. *The Earl's Design of an University in the* Isle of Man.

1. Noe Subject that I know hath soe great Royaltie as this. And, lest it be thought too great, keepe this Rule, & you will more securely keepe it. Fear God & honor the King. Have this in

your Thoughts, first, to chuse a Reverend & Holy Man to your Bishop, who may carefully see the whole Clergy doe their Duties.

2. It hath been a Custome heretofore, that such Persons have been chosen to the Place who were already beneficed in England, to the End they might better be enabled to live with Reputation & Honor to the Country. But I have considered a farther Matter in it. For by the Lawe & Custome here, the Lord & Bishop agreeing might lease any Part of the Bishoprick for xxi. Years, for Lives, or farther Time, &c. Which hath usuallie been done, & at this Time it is soe. Whereby, you see, few Bishops have at any Time enjoyed the full Benefit, & have contented themselves to be called Lords. But, in a few Yeares, the Leases will be expired; & then the Bishoprick shallbe worth the having. And, considering the Cheapnesse of the Place, I know few Bishops in England can live better than he; the Whole being entire. Neverthelesse I would not lose the Power hereof; but, to keep up my Prerogative (unto which, of all Things, have a most especial Regard) you may give Way to Leasing some petty Thing or other, of little Moment.

3. One of the chief Things I herein consider is, that if the greatest Part of the Bishoprick be leased, you will find few worthy Men desirous of the Place. And, if Men be beneficed alreadie, they will seldome live in the Isle: Which indeed I would have the whole Clergie obliged unto. For soe will they do God more Service; they will relieve & instruct the poore People better.

4. Have alsoe great Care that this Bishop be not of a factious Spirit. And let them be of your owne Chusing, rather than recommended to you. Soe will they have the only Obligation to your self, & have no Dependencie of another. For it may displease you if they talke too much of Yorke, as some ill chosen heretofore have done.

5. I had a Designe, & God may enable me, to sett up an Universitie, without much Charge (as I have contrived it) which may much oblige the Nations round about us. It may gett Friends unto the Countrey, & enrich this Land (of which some Share in

Time will come to the Lord's Purse, as is most certain thereby will much Credit.) This certainly would please God & Man. But of this I shall tell you more when [it] please[s] the Lord to settle me again in mine owne.

## Chap. VI.

1, 2, 3. *Reasons for the Earl's not assuming the Title of King of* Man. 4. *The great Commendation of* Edward *E. of* Derby; 5. *his Oeconomy, Carriage, Cloaths,* &c. 6. *The Author exhorts his Son to be strictly loyal.*

1. Some thinke it a brave Matter, that the Lords hereof have been called Kings. I might be of that Opinion, if I knew how this Countrey could maintaine it self in Spight of other Nations; & that I had noe Interest in another Place. But hereof I am much unsatisfied. And I conceive that to be a great Lord is a more honourable Title than a petty King.

2. Besides. It is not for a King to be subject, but to the King of Kings. Nor doth it please a King, that any of his Subjects should too much love that Name; were it but to act it in a Play: Especially some Families more than other.

3. There never was a wise Subject who would willingly offend his King. If, from the Prince, Offence were given, he would rather humble himself before him, as the only Meanes to recover Favor; without which noe Subject can imagine to live safe or with Honor.

4. I have read great Commendation, in the Chronicle of *Stow*, of *Edward* E. of *Derby;* who, in the most ticklish Times, could keepe Favour with his Prince.[4] As in that of *Henry* VIII. *Ed-*

[4] The Passage in *Stow* is this. 'Nov. 24. 15 *Eliz.* [*Dugd.* says, *Oct.* 24. 14. *Eliz.* '1572.] *Edward* E. of *Darby*, Lord *Stanley* & *Strange* of *Knocking*, Lord of the 'Isle of Man, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, & one of the Queen's 'Majestie's Privie Counsell, deceased at his House called Latham in Lancashire. 'His Life & Death deserving Commendation, & craving Memorie to be imitated, was 'such as followeth.

'His Fidelity unto two Kings & two Queens in dangerous Times & great Rebel-

*ward* VI. Q. *Mary*, & Q. *Elizabeth*. God be thanked, we have now a Blessing of soe gratious a King, that I doubt not but He & His will be good to Me & Mine, as our Predecessours have beene faythfull unto His. There is no Feare, I hope, of Tyrannie & Crueltie under his Government, as in the Time of *Richard* III. when *Thomas* E. of *Derby* by his Direction, was neere to be murder'd; & his Sonn the Lord *Strange* also was in Danger of like Death.[5] For which, & such like Feates, *Henry* VII. (whose Mother *Thomas* married) did get his Crowne soe early.[6]

'lions; in which Time (& always as Cause served) he was Lieutenant of Lancashire '& Cheshire; & lately offer'd 10000 Men to the Queen's Majestie of his owne 'Charge for the Suppression of the last Rebellion.

'His godly Disposition to his Tenants, never forceing anie Service at their Hands, 'but due Payment of their Rent.

'His Liberalitie to Strangers, & such as shewed themselves grateful to him.

'His famous Housekeeping, 220. in *Check-Roll*; never discontinuing the Space of '42. Years.

'His Feeding especially of aged Persons, twice a Day, 60. & odd; besides all 'Commers thrice a Week, appointed for his dealing-Dayes; & everie *Good-Fridaie* 'these 35 Years, one with another, 2700. with Meat, Drink, Money & Money-'Worth.

'There was never Gentleman or other who waited in his Service, but had Allow-'ance from him to have as well Wages as otherwise for Horse & Man.

'His yearly portion for the Dispence of his House 4000*l*.

'His Cunning in setting Bones disjoynted or broke.

'His Delivery of his George & Seal to the Lord *Strange*, with Exhortation, that 'he might keep it so unspotted in Fidelitie to his Prince, as he had: & his Joy that 'he died in the Queen's Favor.

'His joyful [de]parting this World; his taking Leave of all his Servants by shak-'ing of Hands; and his Remembrance to the last.

'He was buried at Ormeskirke on the 4. of *December*, in most honourable Man-'ner.' *Stowe*, Fol. Edit. p. 672. *a*.

[5] When *Richard* III. (then only Duke of Gloucester) arrested the Lord *Hastings* in the *Tower*, 'a Man in Harnesse let fly at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the 'Stroke, & fell under the Table, or else his Head had been cleft to the Teeth; for as 'shortly as he shrank, yet came the Blood about his Eares.' *Stow*, Fol. Edit. p. 448. *b*.

[6] 'When K. *Richard* was come to Bosworth [to fight *Henry* E. of *Richmund*] he 'sent a Pursuivant to the Lord *Stanley* [who hovered, with his Followers, near both Armies] 'to come & joyne him, which if he refused, he sware by Christ's Passion,

5. But, for Patterne, follow *Edward;* who left soe excellent a Name behinde him, that noe Vice or Fault is of him at all remembred. He was ever faithfull to the Crowne, & took great Glory in it (which, I pray, may be your Pride.) He was an excellent Occonomist; to maintaine which he looked carefully to his Estate. For he never exceeded his Comings-in; but died rich. He bredd up many Youths of Noblemen, Knights & Esquires Sonns (such Reputation had he of good Government in his House! And the same obliged many Families unto it.) The Countrey was his Home; but [he was] noe Stranger to the Court. He was familiar, but not cheape. He was observed to wear the plainest Clothes; but alwayes in the Fashion, not too much, or too little; or too soone, or too late. Enquire more of him, & you may learne more by him.

6. To conclude this latter Counsaile, take for sure, that it is your Honour to give Honour to your Soverain. It is safe; it is comfortable. Therefore, in all your Actions lett the same appeare. In this Isle let him be prayed for duly. Let Writings & Oaths of Officers, Soldiers & the like, have Relation of Allegiance unto him. I hope in all here already there is good Provision; if not, God willing, there shall: I will have it done.

## Chap. VIJ.

1. *The Earl's Design to encourage Trade in the Isle.* 2. *The great Advantage of it,* 3. *& its proper Situation for it.* 4. *A finer Country than he expected to find it; wherein he was deceived, & by whom.* 5. *Knavish Servants, one Mark of them.* 6. *His Observations on the Countenances of those who came to bid him welcome.*

1. THIS Isle will never flourish until some Trading be. And, though you may invite Strangers or Natives to be Mer-

'that he would strike off his Sonne's Head [whom he had then in his Hand, as a Hostage for his Father's good Behaviour.] 'The Lord *Stanley* answered, if he did 'so, he had more Sonnes. Whereat K. *Richard* commanded incontinent to be-'heade him. But his Counsailors persuading, that it was now Time to fight, & not 'for Execution, it was forborne.' *Holing.* Vol. II. p. 1423.

chants, yet never any Thing will be done to Purpose 'till your selfe do leade. And therefore gett some Summ of Money; as, God willing, I shall. For I rather will sell Land in England, than misse so excellent a Designe.

2. There is no Doubt but hereby you may grow rich your self, & others under you. Your People may be sett a Worke, that in short Time you will have noe Beggars. Where one Soule is now, will be many. Every House almost will become a Towne. Every Towne as a Citty. The Island full of Shipps, &c. This Countrey is so seated, as I cannot conceive but all this is very feasible.

3. When I go on the Mount you call Baroull, &, but turning me round, can see England, Scotland, Ireland, & Wales; I thinke Shame soe fruitlesly to see soe many Kingdomes at once (which no Place, I thinke, in any Nation, that we know, under Heaven can afford such a Prospect) & to have so little Profitt by them.

4. But I have considered hereof, & finde, as I think the Reason. The Countrey is indeed better than I was told. For which I blame my self, that I formerly enquired soe little of it. For indeed he who seeks not to know his owne, is unworthy of what he hath. But I well remember who told me it was so little Worth; even those who have thriven by it.

5. A Master whose Servants prosper under him is commended. But when they thrive unknown to him, & he thrives not alsoe with them; the Wisdom of one & the Honestie of the other will be suspected.

6. At my first Arrival in this Countrey, I observed much the Countenance of them who did bidd me welcome; & the Eyes are often Glass-Windows thro' which we may see the Heart. And though I will not presently censure by the Look, I will not neither neglect some Judgment thereof. Soe it is, that your Eyes must be ever open to see others Eyes, their Countenances & Actions. Your Eares must listen to all is sayd, even what is whispered. For to this End God gave you two Eyes & two Eares. So alsoe you have but one Tongue, to the end you speak not much. For

speaking much you are sure to say something vain. Alsoe you will be troublesome to your Companions. And I never knew a Pratler without Repentance.

7. I perceived easily many different Humors. Some, truly gladd of my Coming; others, as much troubled; & yett it may be shew[ing] more Signes of Joy [than the first.] And usuallie it falls out soe. For when Men soddenly will make believe to be what they are not, they will over-act their Parts; as, among the rest, I marked one, that would laugh & fleere and say soe very much how blessed this Island was nowe that I treade upon it — & many like Fustian Words to that Purpose. I made him believe that I believed him. But I remember though this Saying, that when you see one goe by his usuall Path, look to him.

## Chap. VIIJ.

1. *Connection.* 2. *The Earl appoints a Meeting of the Natives, every Man to give in his Grievances.* 3. *Upon which some think to outwit him; which he winks at;* 4, 5, 6. *being not ready for them:* 7. *Therefore cajoles & divides them.* 8. *On the appointed Day he appears with a good Guard. The People give in their Complaints quietly & retire.* 9. *Advice to his Son about answering Petitions.*

1. IT is fitt to have Charitie to thinke all Men honest; but it is Wisdom to suspect the most. And, being it is certain that the greatest number of Men are bad, I may feare that few be good.

2. The sure Way for a right Knowledge in this Case I doe conceive to be the Course I took, to appoint a Meeting in the Heart of the Countrey, wishing every Man freely to tell his Grievance; that I would heare all Complaints, & give Remedie the best I could.

3. By this Meanes those, who had bad Designes, conceived that, by such Leisure, they might find Excuses to justifie themselves, & how to lay it on other Men. And they imagined, to flatter me into a good Opinion of them, Which I gave them Leave to think a very easie Matter, because of my good, easie, Nature.

4. And thus I rather chose to give them those Hopes, than suffer some sudden & violent Course, which desperate Persons might have fallen into before I could be rightly provided for them. And indeed I feared that soe many engaged by Oath & Covenant, after the new Manner (after the Way of Scotland, the last Rebellion) would not very easily be made to understand their Error.

5. One saith, *Insipiens esto cum Tempus postulat aut res.* And it was noe Wisdome (if a Man had to spare) at that Time to shew much of it to the People. But I acquainted the Governor & some whom I trusted, that I would secure my Forts and Castles, & then I would boldly reason with them.

6. I remember well who said, that Tumults are easilier alayed by undaunted Men than wise. For People more esteem the Breast than the Braine; & are, sooner much, compelled than persuaded.

7. Neverthelesse Matters were not yet so ripe as I wished them, & I thought it not amisse (because I could not possibly make believe that I was altogether ignorant of these Proceedings) to address my self even unto the Parties who were chief Actors in the Businesse, telling them, some body was much to blame; I knew the People were misledd & misinformed; that it would be an acceptable Service in those who could bring them off it; &, if, by some underhand Meanes, they could get the common Sort persuaded, it would hinder my farther Searching in the Businesse; & something to this Purpose. Soe that thereby I doe imagine some were gladd of this Occasion to bring themselves off the Businesse. Others to thinke they might goe on by Leisure; For I was a good Body who wished Peace, would easily forgive Offences, & therefore they might try yet farther what could be done. And some did really confess their Faults, & discovered to me the whole Designs. Soe as I made one good Stepp into Business, which was to divide the Faction; Calling to Minde the old Proverb, *Divide & impera.*

8. When the Time came that the People should present their Grievances, I appointed the Castle Rushein, a strong Place; where, a few Dayes before, I entertained into the Garrison some Soldiers (whom I brought with me out of England) & some Com-

manders (who kept me Companie that day) though without any Signe of the least Apprehension of the People. The Captaine having been a while before affronted, I expected then some such like Behaviour of some idle Fellow, who I believed then might have been made a good Example. But each Parish gave me a Petition of their several Grievances; & I gave them a few good Words, promising to take the same into Consideration: And they parted fayrely.

9. By the Way This. When any Petition is given in Publick, I doe thinke it dangerous to give a present Answer; unlesse it be a very easie Matter. For otherwise they that come to you with the same, have armed themselves with Proofes & Motives alreadie: & you in that may do something on the suddain which afterward may repent you. Or, if you reason with them, you runn a Hazard. Sometimes a good Cause is spoyled with bad Handling. And there may be Shame.

10. I would therefore advise the Petitioner be appointed some other Day for Answer. Or, if you will have the same read at his Importunitie or soe, let your Counsell be about you to give their Judgment thereof as well as you. And indeed it is more pleasing, as it is more laudable, that Complaints be heard in the open Court. But this you may doe at first, or soon after you have received it; cast your Eye quick upon the several parts thereof, especially the Prayer; &, if it touch any Person or Matter that you are unwilling to have scann'd publickly, you may shift it off. But, if it be that wherein you are assured to give a ready Answer, it is more Prayse for you to doe it; & especially in open Court.

## Chap. IX.

1. *Another Meeting appointed, where he also appears with a good Guard.* 2. *Many busie Men speak only* Manckes; *which a more designing Person* [*probably Capt.* Christian, *a late Governor*] *would hinder; but the Earl forbids it.* 3. *Advice about Appearing in Public.* 4. *The* Manckes *Men great Talkers & Wranglers,* 5, 6, 7. *The Earl's Spies get in with them, & wheedle them.*

1. ANOTHER Meeting was appointed at **Castle Peel**; where I expected some Wrangling; & had it. I provided there also for my owne Safety; &, if Occasion were, to curb any or all the rest. For in this Kind 'tis good to be assured. And, when the People take Notice of it, you shall have much better Dealing with them. For otherwise, according to that Saying which I have heard spoken on another Occasion, it is very true, That he who is not sure to winn is sure to lose.

2. Many of the busie Bodies spake *Manckes* only; which some officiously said should be comanded to hold their Peace, that they might not be so troblesome. Which I was unwilling to. For I came prepared to give Men Liberty of Speech. And I knew, by good Experience, that these Countrey People were their Mothers Children; loving much to speak much; &, as you should deal with Women, disposed to prattle. Or, as a barking Curr who follows your Horse-Heells, soe did I give them Liberty to put themselves out of Breath: And they were the sooner quiet; but much more satisfied. For here be noe Lawyers; or rather, there is none but Lawyers. For they will tell everie Man their owne Story; & better will they be content, if you deny them after much Speaking; than to prevent their Talke, by graunting their owne Desires. This was well knowne to him who advised me to silence them. And I knew that he knew it; & that he did the same for noe good Intent.

3. It is good in all Business of this Nature, especially when you must appeare in Publick (where you are, as indeed seldom is a great Man other than, like a Candle on a Mountain) to prepare your selfe to appeare such as may gett you Prayse: Soe must you fitt you right unto the Eyes you know will look upon you. But thinke all Times all Eyes, or rather him who is all Eye, beholds you. Then shall you be sure to please God, the World, and your self: Which certainly is the greatest Craft.

4. I resolved to give them Liberty of Speaking, after their usual Wrangling one with the other, as they have it, in a very bitter Manner. For they chide, misname, & more unseemly rayle than

a Butter-Queane in **Broadstreet.** If they require any Thing of me, they aske it as if I durst not denie. To reason with them I knewe was vain. Soe as I purposed to endure any Unquietnesse, provided they crossed not my Motions; which I was very careful might be just & lawful. For it matters not very much what the people can say of you, soe wise Men may observe you bring your Designes to passe.

5. Before the Day of this general Meeting I provided me of some Informers, who unsuspectedly might mingle with the People; thereby discovering aforehand, the Motions they would make me, their Champions they relied on, & what likeliest might best content them.

6. These Men followed their Instructions pretty well; insinuating & getting a good Belief of divers, by seeming to have the same Opinion with them; & were as forward to rayle against the present Government & complayne of honest Men in Trust with me, as any of the rest. Thus the simple People, who were misledd, believed presently they spoke as they did thinke. Hereby my diligent Informers could soone lead them by the Nose. And such must be dealt with as the Hypocondriacs, a melancholy Disease which some have had, thinking their Nose or their Armes longer than they were. To cure which you must seeme, and say you have, the same Disease; and tell them how you your self was cured: to which they giving Credit, will instantly recover. So as

7. After my busy-Bodies had sufficiently spoke ill of my Office (wherein the People were confirmed in their first Belief, which was very necessarie) they began neverthelesse to speake well of me, assuring [them of] their Knowledge of my good Intent unto the People, to give them all Satisfaction in any of their just Grievances. And, as dear Brethren, gave [them] this good Counsaile, that the People should beware of all Things not to anger me; for I was a good Friend, but a badd Enemie. And thereof gave them some Instances of my Justice, Clemencie & Power. They were assured I did love the People (which is the only Way to get the Peoples Love) they knew certainly, if any were unreasonable & did provoke

me, they should run a Hazard (for if the People feare you not, you never can expect their Loves, or avoyde their Scorne; & never be able to bring to passe what you desire, or what is fitting) they said, I had such Power to maintaine my Actions, that there was noe Appeale. For when any Presumption of that Nature is in a Rogue, you either must quickly quash him, or you open a Gap to your utter Ruine.

## Chap. X.

1. *The Night before the Meeting the Earl consults with his Officers, what to answer;* 2. *but tells them nothing of his Spies.* 3. *Compares both Reports,* 4. *& keeps back his own Opinion.* 5. *Sends some of the Officers, who he knew would be troublesome, out of the Way about other Matters.* 6. *The Governor afresh commended.* 7. *What Counsellors the properest.*

1. THE Evening before the Meeting I took Counsaile with my Officers who are usuallie to be consulted with in Matters of any Moment: & being privately before informed of what the People had to say, I did propound to them, that in Case such & such Things should be done or spoken, what their Opinion was of my Replies unto them? either to condescend, or deny the People? & the Manner how?

2. But I acquainted noe Man with my Intelligence by those Spies. For by these Meanes my Counsellers may guess I have such; which may disable any of them, if they be disposed at any Time, to misinform me; which hath been the Bane of many Princes, & the Misfortune of a People. Also they shall not suspect them, lest soe they might worke with them to gett me a false Report.

3. Neither, by the Way, shall I soe give Creditt to these Hirelings (who very possibly may betray me) that I will not alsoe believe another. Moreover those were noe Wayes privie one to the other's Employment. And soe shall I know how each Man acts his part; & I better may soe compare their Reports for better Discoverie of the Truth. But I will still weigh all that is told me

of any Side; I will ruminate thereon, & aske Counsaile of God Almighty, & pray his Spirit to give a right Understanding to my Heart, which shall wholely be disposed to maintaine only that which is just & right in his Sight; knowing that my Judgements will afterwards by him be judged.

4. When I had layd before my Officers what I thought most likely to be intended by the People, I wished them to doe the like. And, all of us debating those matters freely, they gave every one their several Opinions. Which I thought fittest, before I any Wayes made Shew unto them my owne Inclinations. For otherwise it may cause Destruction of Counsaile, while the Advisers doe feare, or be loth to crosse, your Arguments when you presse them: And a prejudicate Opinion is never honest or safe.

5. Some of my Officers did occasion all my Troubles. And therefore I was carefull that they, or any whom I doubted faithlesse, should not be present at the Counsaile. Neither did I give them the least Suspition to thinke I will'd it soe; but, in such manner, employ'd them elsewhere, that they doubted nothing.

6. When I did take Occasion to tell you the Worth of this present Governour, the same may be to you a Rule of what Qualitie your Counsellours should be. And remember this Benefitt by Councell, that all good Success will be your Glory, all Evil your Excuse; having followed the Advice of others.

7. Your Counsellours are not likely to be better than your selfe. But, if they were, know this, that to aske Councell of one's Better, tieth to Performance. But otherwise to ask Councell is to honour him of whom it is required, & Libertie is not taken away to doe what pleaseth you best.

## Chap. XJ.

1. *The Earl's Carriage to the People at his first going over.* 2. *His Carriage at the Meeting, to Modest Petitioners;* 3. *to impudent;* 4. *to the most confident;* 5. *& to the most dangerous;* viz. *them who stood behind & prompted others.* 6. *All Things being agreed, Capt.*

Christian *cunningly begins a Disturbance.* 7. *The Earl's Reply to him,* 8. *& Speech to the People.* 9. Christian *is stroke blank.* 10. *Several committed to Prison,* 11. *& fined,* 12. *which quiets them.*

1. WHEN first I came among the People, I seemed affable & kind to all: soe I offended none. For taking off your Hat, a good Word, a Smile, or the like, will cost you nothing; but may gaine you much. However I did much beware they might not think I courted them; for soe I might have made them become coy. And I was content that those I brought with me, in their Sight, on severall Occasions, might shew me good Respect, to give the People good Example; knowing that Respect is the Soule of Government, & a Person once fallen to Neglect is, as one saith, noe better than a dead Carcass.

2. I was soe sufficiently troubled with Wrangling at that Time, that I will not trouble myselfe againe in repeating too much of it. When any Man made knowne his Grievance & Desire, while he kept him in the Bounds of Modestie, I seemed much to hearten him & wished him to proceede; giving him still Occasion by some Interruptions (not to disturb him) to let him know that I understood well what he spake. And, if it were Matter which did like me, I fortified his Words with Reasons: Alsoe (sometimes to please) if it were not Reason which he spake, & that I knew there were sufficient Answer against it; I gave alsoe Reason for that. But then I told him, it was not fitting in such & such Respect. Sometimes I gave Leave that others should replye; & with them I did agree or not, as I thought most proper for the present.

3. There were who sawcily behaved themselves, & of those I put some out of Countenance with austere looking on them; troubling their Discourse in seeming not to heare well what they said, & asking them to repeat the same; which astonisht them soe, that oft they did forget the Matter they were about; & sometimes feared to speak more of it.

4. But those who were most confident, & as like to astonish us, I gave Leave to be answer'd by my Officers who satt by; considering it became me not to contend in Words, lest incensing others, or

myselfe becoming passionate, I might bring mine own Discretion in some Question. And I have read some Examples, that Justice is not believed to be where Violence is.

5. Another Sort there were more dangerous: Who said nothing openly, but instructed others, & whispered behind the Companie. Some of these I espied myselfe. Others were pointed to me by such as I had set, in severall Places about the Bench, to observe them & give me some private Beck: which I took Notice of as I saw Occasion. These I called nearer to the Barr; who it may be would speake soe as not to offend, or hold their Peace; at least there they could not incite others so conveniently.

6. In Conclusion, when I had settled a good Course (such as among the antient Records you may see, for there I caused the same [to be] filed up) at the very Raysing of the Court, Captain *Christian* (one whom heretofore I had much obliged by my Favours, but having denied him something, he did take Offence; an Humour of all others the most dangerous) he, seeming desirous to make a right Understanding betweene me & the People, at the Rising of the Court, asked, if we did not agree thus & thus; mentioning some Thinge he had instructed the People to aske: which very happily they had forgot.

7. Presently some catched hereat: but, as soone, I catched at the Words, saying 'He was much to blame soe unseasonably to 'move new Matter, being that we soe happilie had ended the Day, '& set all Businesse in a blessed Way, for the Good of Me & the 'Countrie. And, if we raked any more into them, it might breede 'an Inconvenience more than he was worth.'

8. And soe, raysing from my Seate, I assured the People 'they 'needed no other Advocate than myselfe to pleade for them; be-'cause I had a Resolution to doe all that in Reason they at any 'Time might desire of me; that I would studie to do them all 'Good. And, if any base Fellow told them otherwise of me, I 'wished they would hold him an Enemie to themselves. And 'whoever durst say to me, I had not their Loves; I would give 'such the Lye, & deliver him to them to tear in Pieces; as I

'thought he might well deserve. Soe I bad the Court to rise, and 'noe Man to speak a Word more.'

9 Thus is it sometimes necessarie to make use of our several Passions; & happie is he whose Passions make not use of him! *Christian* hereat grew very blank, & the same by many was observed; which, as I believe, hath since wrought Good in all.

10. A few Dayes after, some, who had formerly given great Braggs & vaunting Speeches of getting Lawes & Customes of this Countrey to be broken & changed to their owne Mindes, in Despight of any that said nay, *&c.* these Men were, some of them, committed to Prison; & there abided: until, upon Submission & Assurance of being very good & quiett, they were released; & some others, who had offended in the same Kind, were put in their Roomes. They were the principall Disturbers of the Peace, & such as we could prove to have incited others, & given them that dangerous Oath & Covenant, after the Manner of some other Countries, which hath gott us a deare Experience.

11. I thought fitt to make them [be] deeply fined. Soe as having picked them thus one by one (which was the more easie & readie Way) it terrified all that had any Hand in these Matters. Whereat as many of the first Sort as were sett at Libertie grew very milde. Those who were fined, by their good Behaviours hope to be forgiven the said Fynes; & are thereby in good Awe. Others make way to their Peace beforehand, to prevent Imprisonment or Fine. And soe, God be thanked, we are very quiett.

12. Since this they have all come, in most submisse & loving Manner, presenting their Grievances, with soe much Civilitie; as since I have given them, I hope, good Satisfaction: redressing what was amisse in Church or State.

## Chap. XIJ.

1, 2. *Of Capt.* Holmewood, 3. *formerly recommended by certain Lords (to whom he was an Hanger on) to the Earl's Mother, who puts him in Governor of the* Isle of Man. *(The Earl's Father retires.)* 4.

*At his Mother's Death the Earl displaces Capt.* Holmewood, *& gives him a Pension; yet the Lords who recommended him are displeased.* 5. *The Inconvenience of taking Servants on other Men's Recommendations.*

1. I AM willing to rubb up my Memory concerning my first Choice of Captain *Christian*, & his Behaviour in my Service since. Wherein I may call to mind my owne Follies to make you by them wiser. It is good learning by another's Book. *Ex Vitio alterius Sapiens emendat suum.* To doe this I must rake up some Circumstances before my entertaining him.

2. There was one Captain *Holmewood*, a very honest Gentleman, who used to haunt good Company & had great Acquaintance with divers Courtiers of the best Sort; which was very commendable. But, in Church, or Court, or Home, or in any Place, if a Man want Discretion rightly to make Use of the Occasion, all will tend unto his Losse. This Gentleman found it true. For without any Vice (which is noe great Signe of Virtue) he wasted a good Estate, & his Remnant afterwards was Courtship. For his Friends there all solemnly protested, how sorry they were for his Misfortunes, & noe lesse that they wanted Abilities to doe him Service. Thus much though there he profitted to learne, that Confidence & Importunitie are the onlie Wayes of thriving at Court. And, when Men may not get Preferment from a Partie there, at least to hang on untill he be well shifted off: And then the usual Way is to be transferred.

3. Soe did some Lords of the Court (who shall be namelesse) recommend him unto my Mother of blessed Memory, to be Governour of this **Isle of Man.** And she gave Creditt unto their Letters (a strange Errour of so wise a Woman, so well acquainted with the Court!) & pleased to send him over, to the great Contentment of very many. For he was needie & kind-hearted: two of the most pleasing Qualities for a Governor among his People.

4. But when it pleased God that my Mother died (unto whom, by certaine Agreements betweene her & my Father, & as I take it, ordered by K. *James* that blessed Peacemaker, that her Ladyship

should have the full Dispose thereof for certain Years) I observed that this Gentleman was fitter for Employment abroade than this Place; which, at that Time, required a Man of Letters. And my Father, willing to retire himself from Troubles, was contented to make much of himselfe, reserving a 1000*l.* a Yeare, & put the rest of his Estate to venture, in my Hands (that which haply I shall not soe very soone doe with you, nor with such Latitude of Power.) The first Thing I did, to my Remembrance, was the shifting off this Gentleman; to whome I gave a good Pension for Charitie Sake, & in some Respect, to avoyde others Clamours. But that pleased not those Lords by whose Meanes he was placed here: apprehending much his Companie again at Court. Indeed they were not Friends with me of a long Time for it.

5. And hereby may you observe the Inconveniencie of taking Servants on others commending. I had Matter enough to justifie his Remove; but that could not set me right above. Neverthelesse, when I did according to good Discretion in my owne Right, I consider'd their Favour in Time might be recovered. For, though a Friend at Court be said to be better than a Penny in the Purse; yett keepe youre owne Estate & a Penny to spare, & you will create Friends in Court or Countrey at any Time.

## Chap. XIIJ.

1. *Of Capt.* Christian, *& how the Earl came formerly to make him Governor.* 2. *His Character.* 3. *The Earl for some Time very fond of him, who abuses his Love.* 4. *One good Quality of his.* 5, 6, 7. *His insatiable Covetousness.*

1. I WAS newly gott acquainted with Captain *Christian,* whom I observed soone to have Abilities enough to doe me Service: And a Friend of mine making Motion he might come into the Place, I enquired more of him, & indeed in some Haste, lest I were importuned againe for Captain *Holmewood.* Because, having angred some of my noble Friends alreadie in his Remove, I might endanger to lose them quite by a new Deniall to restore him.

2. I was told Captain *Christian* had alreadie made himselfe a good Fortune in the Indies; that he was a *Manckes* Man borne; but which took most with me, that when he offer'd his Service it was on these Terms; that (being he was resolved to retire himself into that his owne Countrey, whether he had the Place or noe) he would be contented to hold the Staffe untill I chose another, which most willingly he would [then] resigne without Repine; & called such a one to Witness (who yett is living.) For the Pay he so little valued that, as he would be content to do Service without any, or as little of it as it pleased [me;] And what Agreement there was betweene us I very well remember.

3. He is excellent good Companie; as rude, as a Sea Captaine should be; but refin'd, as one that had civiliz'd himself half a Year at Court; where he served the Duke of *Buckingham*. In this I cannot much blame myselfe. But, thinking I had soe excellent a Jewell, did esteeme him at too high a Rate. Which he knew very well, & made Use thereof for his owne Ends; therein abusing me, & presuming of my supporting him in his Actions; which, from Time to Time, he guilded with soe fayre Pretences, that I believed & trusted him too much. Alsoe I gave too little Heed unto many Complaints against him. Here was my fault. But I have beene whipt for it; and I will do soe no more.

4. While he governed here, some few Years, he pleased me very well; & had a Qualitie of the best Servant, that what I directed him to doe, if it succeeded ill, he would take the same upon himself; & what happened well, would give me the Glorie of it.

5. This he did while I continued my Favours to him. And I were as ungratefull as unwise if I should not both enrich & oblige him to me; as the only Way to keep him good. But, such is the Condition of Man! that most will have some one Fault or other to blurr all their best Vertues! And his was of that Condition which is reckoned with Drunkenness, *viz.* Covetousness; both marked with Age to increase & grow in Men.

6. He was ever forward to make me manie Requests, which, while they were fit for me to graunt, I did never denie him. But

indeed a right good Servant would rather be prevented by his Lord's Nobleness than demand any Thing of himself; & suffer himself to be honoured & enriched, as enforced, rather than pretending to it; & ascribe Honors to his Office, not to Merit.

7. But I observed, that the more I gave, the more he asked; & such Things as I could not graunt without much Prejudice unto myselfe & others. Soe as after a while I sometimes did refuse him. And it was sure to fall out according to the old Observation, that when a Prince hath given all, and the Favourite can desire noe more, they both grow wearie of one another.

## Chap. XIV.

1. *Of some Commissioners whom the Earl formerly sent over to the* Isle of Man. 2. *Mr.* Rutter, *Lord* Strange's *Tutor, commended;* 3. & *his Pupil.* 4. *Lord* Strange's *Mother being a* French *Woman, an Advantage to him.* 5. *Mr.* Rutter's *Method of Teaching commended.*

1. IN the Year 16 . . . . I sent over some Commissioners ill chosen. But that was Want of Experience & good Instruction in my Youth. For I cannot bragg of good Breeding, as (God be thanked) you may. And that is to you more worth than Half of all I leave you.

2. You know my Instructions to you. In the first Place, to feare the Lord, as the Beginning of true Wisdom. And I know you are taught it of Mr. *Rutter*; for whome you and I may both thanke God.

3. He is not only a good Teacher to you; but a good Companion both to you & me: having nothing at all of the Pedant. There is good Proofe of his Labours with you. For you have profitted well in your Studies; &, without Flattery to either, above what I expected, by Reason of your long Sickness. For I cannot hope of soe much Scholarship from you as your Brothers; who are (God be thanked) more healthfull; & (God willing) shall be plied harder at their Studies than you have been.

4. You have alreadie the Benefitt of your Mother's Language,

soe as you neede not travell (as I & some others have done) to pass our Time for Words; while we lost so much of our Life to have studied Men & Manners.[7]

5. The Method of your Teaching you may remember. When God blesseth you with Children, you may your selfe give Rules unto their Teachers. Neverthelesse, lest you forget any of it, I may haply desire Mr. *Rutter* to set it downe in Writing; that you may keepe the same by you with this. And if others (when we are dead) pretend to greater knowledge & a new Way of Teaching, you may compare his great Skill with our true Loves; of which these & the like Endeavours shall be our Witnesses. In another Place I may say more of my Intents concerning your Breeding, Travell, & the like. In the mean Time I will tell you something of my Commissioners Behaviour in this Countrey, & how it fared while they ruled here. Alsoe something of the Choyce of Servants.

## Chap. XV.

1. *The Vanity & Prodigality of the Earl's Commissioners.* 2. *Observations on Servants,* 3. *whether rich,* 4. *prodigal,* 5. *cunning,* 6. *fawning; the Danger of these last.* 7. *Stewards,* 8. *& Secrets, how to be trusted.* 9. *Comely Servants recommended.* 10. *Fanatic & Popish Servants improper.* 11. *Musitians, troublesome;* 12. *& many Boys, inconvenient.* 13. *All under Yeomen to be in Livery.* 14. *Provision for Housekeeping to be made beforehand.* 15. *The Steward & Clerk of the Kitchen to be countenanced.* 16. *Of Rewards.* *K.* James I. *great Gift to the E. of* Pembroke. 17. *The*

[7] '*James* E. of *Derby* married the Lady *Charlotte* Daughter to *Claude* Duke of '*Tremouille* in France [by the Lady *Charlotte* his Wife, Daughter to the renouned 'Count *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, & *Charlotte de Bourbon* his Wife; by 'Reason whereof the Dukes of *Tremouille* stand allied to the Kings of France; as 'also to the Houses of *Bourbon-Mounpensier*, *Bourbon-Conde*; Dukes of *Anjou*, King 'of *Naples & Sicilie*, Archdukes of *Austria*, Kings of *Spain*; Earls & Dukes of *Savoy*; 'Dukes of *Milan*; & divers other sovereign Princes.] By which Lady he had Issue 'three Sons, *Charles*, *Edward* & *William*; & three Daughters, *Mary*, married to '*William* E. of *Strafford*; *Catherine*, to *Henry* Marquess of Dorchester; & *Emelia*, 'to *John* E. of *Athol.* *Dugd.* Vol II. p. 254. *a.*

*Earl's Thoughts about giving.* 18. *The Duke of* Buckingham's *odd Way;* 19. *a better.* 20. *Not too many Servants who are near Relations,* 21. *or married.* 22. *The Earl's Complaint of bad Servants,* 23. *& of his aforesaid Commissioners.* 24. *He compares his own Way of Writing to his Son's Riding.*

1. THEY came in State, as I was tolde; which was much more for my Honor than for my Profitt or Creditt; & to them of no little Use, considering their merrie Times & bad Reckonings. And questionless those, who so willingly would be lavish to spend my Moneys, would as readily sometimes husband a Part of it for themselves. Nor am I mistaken in this, that (without Offence unto the rest) *Peter Winn* did soe. And I am happie to knowe it. For ill Servants are like some Diseases, which easily be cured, when knowne; & as dangerous, if undiscovered.

2. Some Marks of a good Servant I have told you, & these following be Badges of a Bad.

3. *First,* When he mindes himself more than you. That you may discern by his growing over wealthie, & gaining Reputation with them he deals with in your Behalfe: taking unto himself the Thankes of the Favours which proceed from you. Soe may you observe Men rather make Addresses unto him than you. And he is usually well followed by your Suitors, who commonly observe him much bare-headed, & he will take it sufficiently upon him, & herewith be so finely puffed up, that shortly he slights your Service, & will thinke it a Disparagement to wait as heretofore; at least he thinkes to honour you very much if he give you Attendance. For now he is a Gentleman of a good Estate, professing how much he hath spent of his own purse to doe you Creditt; &, if you respect him, he will honor you, otherwise can live of his owne: which he haply may believe his Father left him, though he came to you a Beggar.

4. Sometimes a Servant will be prodigall and vaine, neglectinge his owne Affayrs (& then most assuredly yours.) This may plainly be knowne, if you see him needy, that he is a Gamester, very vicious, & the like.

5. Another Sorte there is who desire to keep you in continuall Law-Suites & Troubles: Thereby himselfe never wants Employment, & you cannot want him. For, by some cunning Trick or other, when any more honest or sufficient than himself is offer'd unto you; he either acquaints that Party beforehand that you will none of him; or tells you, how unworthy he may be of you: And both Sides a Lie. But in this Case a Rule of *Machiavell* is remembred, *Fortiter calumniare, aliquid adhærebit.*

6. A more dangerous than all is a flattering Servant, who so insinuateth & endeareth himself to you, by applauding & approving of all that likes you; as thereby you may thinke to have one after your owne Heart, but who shall afterwards gnawe you to the Bones. Yet this Rule take unto your selfe, & there is lesse Danger of Deceiving; that, when any prayseth you, to be jealous you deserve it not; or, if you doe, that you will thinke he does not alwayes love you best who praiseth most. An Italian Proverb saith, That after eating Salt with one seven Years, you may then guesse how fittly you may trust him.

7. Those whom you trust with Moneys bring them often to Accompt.

8. Them to whom you doe discover that which nearly may concerne your Life or Honour, lett it be to — indeed I know not who.

9. It is very handsome to have comely Men to serve you.

10. I would neither have any to be any Piece of a Puritan or a Jesuite.

11. Next them, your Musitian is very troublesome.

12. Many Boyes, to wayte on your Servantes, be slutish, pilfer, steal, & disgrace a House.

13. I would wish that all, who are under the Yeomen, be in Livery; whether they be your own fee'd Men, or that they belong to the Gentry in your House.

14. It is good to have Provision aforehand for Housekeeping. Much Demaines is commodious for that Purpose. Doe not therefore lease any that you have alreadie, rather encrease the same. If soe you sett any, let it be from Year to Yeare only.

15. Have a good Steward of your House & Clerke of the Kitchen, who may make themselves awed by the Servants, even as much as your selfe. Wherefore, while they serve you, you must countenance them.

16. It hath been the Custome of many Princes to reward liberally their Servants with such Guifts as they thought little; because they have not known them. Soe did King *James*. Until my uncle, the Earl of *Salisburie*, Lord Treasurer, once shewed him 5000*l*. at once, which, at one Clapp, he had given to the Earl of *Pembroke*. He thought at that Time there had not been such Store of Money in the Kingdom, & sware, he would give over giving. But he was better than his Word.

17. I would the most I could keepe my owne myselfe; soe shall I certainly better husband what I have. However, before I give, I will consider what it is, to whom, why, & when.

18. The Duke of *Buckingham* was used to reward his worst Servants first. And, being asked the Reason, he sayd, thereby he was sooner rid of them; & the others would easilier abide in Hope.

19. How good a Rule this is, I say not. But certainly, when you give to a good Man, because he is good, it is like to keepe him good, & it may make others good.

20. I am loth to have many of a House too neere a-Kin. For by that Meanes you will sometimes suffer one too much, for another's Sake.

21. Nor would I have manie married. For soe you may happen to keep the Children alsoe.

22. Most of these Misfortunes I have met with in Servants, which have vexed me to the Heart. I pray you, by my Experience herein, learne you something.

23. I thought to have enlarged myselfe more in relating manie Passages in Observation of my Commissioners Proceedings here; wherein I had matter enough, to have given you Examples both of their Pride & Bribery. But I am loth to dwell too long on one Subject, not knowing how little Time I can dwell here myself, with any Leisure, to continue this Discourse.

24. I will skipp over [then] to some other Matter. Soe shall I not keepe Order in any even Way, but, like as your selfe doe in your Sports abroad, oft wantonly forsake a plaine Ground to gallop over a rough Fallowe, & nowe & then leape Hedges; soe as, following your owne Humour herein, I hope you will thinke my Sayings to you to be lesse tedious.

## Chap. XVJ.

1. *Of a certain Tenure in the* Isle of Man, *called the Tenure of the Straw, whereby the Lord is defrauded.* 2. *A Petition presented against Demster* Christian *for defrauding an Infant of his Estate.* 3. *The Demster's great Interest in the Island, & his many Bastards.*

1. THERE comes this very Instant an Occasion to me to acquaint you with a special Matter, which if, by Reason of these troublesome & dangerous Times, I cannot bringe to passe my Intents therein, you may, in your better Leisure consider thereof, & make some Use hereafter of my present Labours, in the Matter of a certain Holding in this Countrey, called the *Tenure of the Straw*. Whereby Men thinke their Dwellings are their owne auntient Inheritances, & [that they] may passe the same to any, & dispose thereof without License of the Lord, but paying him a bare small Rent like unto a Fee-Farme in England: Wherein they are much deceived. Which you may plainely see by such Collections as I have alreadie caused to be framed, at this Time in Custodie of the Comptroller. Sufficient, I persuade myselfe, to satisfie any reasonable Body. But it is not always Reason can prevaile with a Multitude. Therefore is it fitt in this, as in all Things, to have of the Dove & the Serpent according to the Occasion.

2. One presented me a Petition against Demster *Christian* on the Behalf of an Infant, who is conceived to have Right unto his Farme, late Ramisway, one of the principal Holdings of this Countrey; who, by Reason of his Eminencie here, & that [he] holdeth much of the same Tenure of the Straw in other Places, he

is soe observed, that certainly, as I temper the Matter with him in this, soe shall I prevaile with others. But, he being soe much concern'd, I have a hard Taske in Hand. But I shall trie. And herein the surest Way is to begin in the fairest Manner. For roughest Dealing is best, when smoother have first failed.

3. I am not ignorant what Courses the said Demster hath taken to strengthen himself & others, to maintain their Titles herein against me. And once one in a pleasant Humour sayd, he thought the Demster did not get so many Bastards for Lust's Sake, as in Policie, to make the Name of the *Christians* flourish. But, if he & I agree not, you will hear more of these Matters; otherwise you shall know nothing thereof at all. But learne this, that there be Times to discover what one knows, as at other Whiles it is fitt not to seeme to know them. And while good Content is given, lett such Kindnesse be shewed as may assure the Partie that Offences are quite forgotten or forgiven: Or that he may think that they never have beene harbour'd in you.

## Chap. XVIJ.

1. *The great Love of Brothers & Sisters to their Bastard Brothers & Sisters in the* Isle of Man. 2. *The* Christins (*the most numerous & powerful Family in the Island*) *alter their Name to* Christian. 3. *Their Power, Seats, Matches, Estates.* 4. *The Prayer in the above-mentioned Infant's Petition against Demster* Christian. 5. *The Petitioner could scarce get a man to write it, for Feare of the Demster & his Family.* 6. *The Earl's Commissioners fomerly ordered the Demster to pay the Infant a Sum of Money for the Estate he with-holds from him; but he would not.* 7. *The Earl resolves the Demster shall both pay the Infant, & take a Lease of him; which will open his Way to recover his Right of others.* 8. *In which Case he will take small Fines, & advises his Son to do so too.* 9. *If the Demster wont agree to this, he can deal with him another Way.*

1. BEFORE I goe farther, let some Use be made of that true Jest concerning the Demster.

2. It is very true, there be many Bastards here in this Isle; & he is to be wonder'd at who wonders at it. But sure it would be very well if that Law were here as in other Places, that all knowne Bastards be called after their Mothers Names. And there is no more Reason for it here in Respect they are subject to make Factions. And Men of the same Name will side with one another against any Body. Nor doe they love or esteeme lesse because their Friends, Brothers or Sisters, be base borne.

3. There be many of the *Christians* in this Countrey, that is, *Christins;* [for that is] the true Name: But they have made themselves chieffe here. Wherefore, if a better Name could be found, they would likely pretend unto it. I pray God they be Christians indeed & honest Men. For then it matters not how many be of a Name. And I advise you, if a Name fancy you not, because some soe called have offended you; yett lett it not be a Rule to hate the Persons of those you know not, because of their Kinne have heretofore displeased you, after the Manner of the Fudes in **Scotland.**

4. But it is not so much that soe manie be called Christians, as that by Policie they are crept into the principall Places of Power; & they be feared round about the Countrey, & in the Heart of it; they are matched with the best Families; have the best Livings [that is, Farms] & must not be neglected.

5. The Prayer in the Petition formerly mentioned, was to this Effect. 'That there might be a faire Tryall; &, when the Right 'was recovered, that I would graunt them a Lease thereof, &c.' This being in the *Tenure of the Straw,* & a Motion to me which the Demster may thinke very pleasing, it will doubtlesse startle him.

6. You may herein observe the Interest that the Demster hath in this Countrie; being the Petitioner could get but one Man in the whole Island who durst write this Petition fayre.

7. Upon some Conference with the Petitioner, I finde a Motion heretofore was made by my Commissioners, that the Demster should give this Fellow a Summe of Money. But he would part

with none. Neverthelesse now, it may be, he will; &, I hope, be so wise as to assure unto himselfe his Holding, by Compounding with me for a Lease of the same. To the which, if they two agree, I shall graunt it him on easie Termes. For, if he breake the Ice, I may haply catch some Fish.

8. And I will also, for this first Time, take reasonable Fines from all the rest. And indeed I would counsaile you to be alwayes good unto the People, & to all Tenants under you. Consideringe your selfe is but Tenant for Life unto the Lord of Life, who hath committed this Land & People to your Stewardship. Wherefore soe governe the same as you may give God a good Accompt.

9. I doe bethinke myselfe, in Case the Demster & I should not agree, how to manage this Businesse. But, because it may haply never happen, I will not speake more of it yett. But, by this, let you see my Custome on all Occasions to prepare myselfe *ad utrosq; Casus.* Which is a good Rule.

## Chap. XVIIJ.

1. *Of Capt.* Christian, *the old Governor, yet in Prison. What he suffers there, but just;* 2. *& the Earl would farther punish him; but the Judges say, they want Presidents. Hardly any Punishment in the* Isle of Man *but may be got off, except the Crime be Sheep-stealing.* 3. *The Earl will provide better Laws hereafter; if he does not, he advises his Son to do it.* 4. *Capt.* Christian *pretends he suffers for the People. So that a Jury would acquit him. But the Earl thinkes he may be fined, & deeply.*

1. I WILL return unto Captain *Christian,* whose Businesse must be heard the next Week. He is still in Prison; & I believe many wonder thereat, as savouring of Injustice, & that his Tryall should be soe long deferr'd. But, in my own Knowledge, he deserves what he hath, & a great deale more. Also his Businesse is of that Condition, that it concerns not himselfe alone. And, if sometimes we endure, our selves or Friends, for a general Good; much

more may we lett a Knave feele a little of that Miserie he would have brought on manie an honest Man.

2. I believe such Course will be taken, that he shall groane under the Burden of it. But, whether it will reach his Life, I know not. For his Judges doe pretend they want Presidents. And indeed, in this Countrey any Offence will be excused, if of never soe high a Nature, provided he steale not Sheepe. And that because the Judges be Sheepemasters.

3. But, God willing, I will have Lawes declared for Treason, & the like. If I doe not; be it your Taske.

4. If a Jurie of the People doe passe upon him (being he hath soe cajoled them to believe he suffers for their Sakes) it is likely they would quit him. And then might he laugh at us: whom I had rather he had betrayed. Soe as I thinke, according to Custome for some Offences of that Nature, he will be fined; though haply deeper than usual. Neverthelesse I may soe handle it, that little shall stick by me, though himselfe be noe Whitt favour'd. I remember one sayd, It was safer much to take mens Lives than their Estates. For their Children will sooner much forgett the Death of their Father, than the losse of their Patrimonie.

## *LORD DERBY'S SECOND LETTER TO HIS SON CHARLES LORD STRANGE.*[8]

YOU know my former instructions to you were, first, to fear God, the beginning of wisdom, and that honesty and religion were the grounds and ends of all men's actions; that all things are written for our instruction, and that no man can be accounted happy in this world that is not wise, for he that is wise sees most his own unhappiness.

And I know you are taught these great and good lessons by your excellent tutor, Mr. Rutter, for whom may you and I give thanks to God; he is not only a good teacher to you, but a good friend and companion both to you and me, having nothing at all of the pedant in him. You have profited well in your studies, which is a proof of his labour and care, and without flattery to either, above what I expected; to which the virtuous inclinations of your great and good mother, by whose tender care your infancy hath been governed, hath greatly contributed.

You have already the benefit of her language, and so need not travel as I and some others have done to spend our time for words, while we lose so much of our life, to have studied men and manners; but your present education under so great and excellent a tutor gives me assurance rather than hope, that you will so well understand yourself, and the true knowledge of your Creator and Redeemer (without which all other things are vain and miserable),

[8] This "second letter" is transcribed from the 4to MS. volume, Knowsley, and would seem to confirm the opinion, that what is now called the *History of the Isle of Man* had been originally written by the earl to his son in the form of letters. This letter is incorporated in some of the editions of his lordship's *History of Man*.

that your youth being guided by so able a teacher, will furnish you with such divine and moral precepts, as may make your life comfortable, and your death happy. From whose learned instructions, when it shall please God to bless you with children you may yourself give rules to their teachers; but lest you should forget any of those wise and virtuous precepts I may prevail with Mr. Rutter to give you his method of instructing youth in writing, to keep by you, and if others when we are dead pretend to greater knowledge and a newer way of teaching, you may compare his great skill with our true loves, of which these and the like endeavours shall be our witness; as I may say something more of my intentions concerning your breeding, travel, &c. But in the meantime I will give you some instructions touching the manner of your house, servants, and estate, which I hope may prove of service. I have already given you some marks of a good servant, and these following are badges of a bad one.

My father upon the death of my mother, growing infirm and disconsolate, and willing to repose himself from the troubles of the world, purchased a house on the side of the river Dee, near Chester, and retired to it; reserving to himself a thousand pounds a year for life, and put the rest of his estate and revenue into my hands, which I fear I shall not be so soon able to do with you, nor with such latitude of power. However, by observation of the following rules and maxims, you may so manage, improve, and enlarge your estate, as to live in repute, honour, and comfort.

When you shall arrive at man's estate, use great caution in the choice of a wife; for as that is well or ill done, so is the whole life likely to be afterwards. It is like a project in war, wherein a man can probably err but once. If your estate be good, match near home and at leisure; but if weak and encumbered, marry afar off and quickly. Enquire well into her disposition, and how her parents have been in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever, for a man can buy nothing in a market with gentility; neither chuse an uncomely creature for wealth, for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing with you; chuse not a

dwarf or a fool; the children of one will be pigmies, and the other your disgrace by a continual clack. There is nothing more fulsome than a she fool.

As to your housekeeping let it be moderate, rather plentiful than niggardly, for no man ever grew poor by keeping an orderly table. Banish drunkenness as a bane to health, consuming much, and making no show. Beware not to spend above the fourth of your income, nor above one-third of that in your house, for the other two parts will scarce defray your extraordinaries, which always surmount the ordinary; and remember the needy man can never live happily.

Bring your children up with learning and obedience, yet without austerity; praise them openly and reprehend them secretly. Give them maintenance agreeable to your ability, otherwise your life will seem their bondage, and at your death they will thank it, and not you for what you leave them.

I am persuaded that the foolish indulgence of some parents, and the too severe carriage of others, occasion more men and women to take ill courses, than their own inclinations. Marry your daughters in time, as a great work; and if your sons are by curiosity and custom inclined to travel, suffer them not to pass the Alps, for there is nothing to be learned there but pride, vice, luxury, and atheism, with a few useless words of no profit.

It is good to have provision before hand for housekeeping, and large demesnes are necessary for that purpose, therefore do not lease any part already in your hands, and live not in the country without corn and cattle, for he that pulleth to his purse for every penny is like him that putteth water in a sieve.

Buy what you want at the best hand, and be not served with kinsmen and friends, for they expect much and do but little, and keep rather too few than one too many; feed and pay them well, and you may expect service from their hands.

Let your kindred and friends be welcome at your house and table, and oblige them by your countenance, which will double the bond of nature, and raise so many advocates upon occasion.

Throw off and disregard all loose and flattering parasites, who are every man's friend in prosperity, but of no more use in adversity than a harbour in winter. Avoid suretiship for your best friends, but rather lend the money yourself on good bond, although you borrow it, for that will secure yourself and please your friend; neither borrow money of a neighbour or friend, but rather of a stranger, which when paid you will hear no more of; otherwise you will lessen your credit, lose your friend, and yet pay as dear for it.

Undertake no suit against a poor man on receiving much wrong, for then you will make him your equal, and it is a base conquest where there is no resistance; neither make use of law against any man before you are fully satisfied of your right, and then spare neither money nor pains, for a cause so obtained may free you from suits great part of your life.

Be sure to keep some great man your friend, but trouble him not with trifles; compliment him often with small gifts of little charge, but if occasion require greater let it be something that may be daily in sight, otherwise it may be like a hop without a pole.

Towards your superiors be humble yet generous, with your equals familiar, yet respectful to your inferiors; shew much humanity and some familiarity, as to bow the body, stretch forth your hand, or uncover your head, with such like popular compliments, which will prepare your way to popular advancement, bespeak you a man well bred, and gain a good report, which when once got is easily kept.

Civility and humanity take deep root in the minds of the populace, who are easier gained by small courtesies than by churlish benefits; yet affect not nor neglect popularity too much.

Trust not any man with the secrets of your mind that may nearly concern your life, honour, credit, or estate; for it is the greatest folly so far to discover and enslave yourself to your friend; as if occasion should become necessary you durst not dare to become his enemy.

Be not scurrilous in conversation nor satirical in your jests; for when any of them savour too much of truth they leave a bitterness

in the minds of those that are touched by them, and some are so prone to this kind of behaviour that they chuse rather to lose their friend than their jest; but I advise you to avoid all such satire as may be disagreeable to the company, which may engage you in disputes, and draw upon you the hatred of friends if not quarrels also.

It is very commendable to have comely men to serve you, but have none that is either a puritan or jesuit; next to them a musician is very troublesome. Many boys to wait on your servants are sluttish, given to pilfer and steal, and disgrace your house. I would have all those under the yeomen in livery, whether yours or any of your chief retinue.

Have a good steward of your house, and clerk of the kitchen, who make themselves awed by the servants even as much as yourself; and while they serve you well you must countenance them well, so will your house be orderly.

I would as much as in me lay keep my own cash, so shall I better husband it, knowing on what occasions I part with [it]; and as it is a custom sometimes to reward good servants, consider well before you give, what it is, to whom, and for what, for certainly when you give to a good man (because he is good) it is likely to keep him so, and make others good from the example. I would not have many in my house too near a-kin, for you will be apt to encourage one too much for another's sake; neither would I have many married in my house, by so doing you may come to have the children also.

When a servant minds himself more than your business then you may be sure he is growing rich, gaining reputation at your cost, and then you may observe men making their addresses to him rather than you; his followers attending him bare-headed, which puffs him up to slight your service, and if you respect him it may be he will honour you, otherwise he can live of his own, and may have the vanity to give out it was his father's legacy, though he came to you a beggar.

If a servant be prodigal, neglecting his own affairs, assuredly he will neglect yours; and this you may see if he be needy, a game-

ster, a company keeper, or otherwise vicious and the like; dismiss such a servant your house and service.

Another sort will, perhaps, delight to keep you in suits and troubles, that he may never want employment; and you cannot want him exclaiming against all other as unfit for your service. But in this case the rule of Machiavel is to be remembered — *fortiter calumniare, aliquid adhærebit.* More dangerous than this is a flattering servant who endeareth himself to you by applauding and approving all you like, say, or do, which may prevail with you to think that you have one after your own heart, but will in time gnaw you to the very bone; yet observe this rule and there will be less danger of being deceived. When any praise you, be cautious whether you deserve it or not; or if you do, think he does not always love you best that praises you most. Remember the Italian proverb, that after eating salt with one seven years you may then judge of his sincerity, and how far you may trust him. Those you trust with money, or any receipts or disbursements of it, bring often to account, which will keep them just and make you easy.

Most of these misfortunes I have met with in servants, which hath given me great vexation; therefore, I hope by my experience you will avoid them as much as possible. I might have enlarged upon many of the passages and observations here recited, in which I have been sufficiently exercised to give you examples both of pride and corruption in those employed about you; but am loath to dwell too long on one subject, not knowing how short a time I must dwell here myself, so shall omit them for the present, and only give you a few general aphorisms and maxims in life, for your instruction and observation in the course of it, which I exhort you always to remember and practise as a sure monitor and guide of all your actions, conduct, and behaviour, towards God, your prince, and neighbour.

## *INSTRUCTIONS BY JAMES EARL OF DERBY TO HIS SON THE LORD STRANGE (BY WAY OF APHORISM), FOR HIS OBSERVATION IN LIFE.*

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OF all things seek to know the Word of God and the Kingdom of God.

II. Know that about God there is neither greatness, place, quality, figure, or time; for he is all, through all, and about all.

III. This word, O son! worship and adore, and the only service of God is not to be evil.

IV. Remember that virtue, honour, and religion, are the grounds and ends of all good men's actions.

V. Build more upon an honest man's word than a bad man's bond.

VI. Trust not any man that has not approved himself a man of sound principles and a good conscience; for he that is false to God can never be true to man.

VII. Remember that he is a happy king who loves his people and is beloved by them.

VIII. That the strength of a king is in the love of his people.

IX. That princes ought to be better than other men, because they command and rule all.

X. That a good prince ought first to preserve the service of God and his church, and next the common wealth, before his own pleasure.

XI. That he can never be a good statesman that regardeth not the public more than his own advantage.

XII. That honour is the reward of virtue gotten with labour, and held in danger.

XIII. That counsel without resolution and execution is but wind.

XIV. That division in council is most dangerous.

XV. That attempts are most probable when wisely formed, and secretly and speedily executed.

XVI. That union is the strength, and division the ruin, of any body politic.

XVII. That the taking or losing an opportunity is the gaining or losing a project in fortune.

XVIII. That war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.

XIX. That war is the curse and peace the blessing of God upon a nation.

XX. That a nation gaineth more by one years peace than ten years war.

XXI. That a nation can never be rich that hath no trade and commerce with other nations.

XXII. That no man can get riches of himself, but by means and assistance of others.

XXIII. That riches are God's blessing to such that use them well, and his curse to such that do not.

XXIV. That all things in the world are valuable as we esteem them, for a little, to him that thinketh it enough, is great riches.

XXV. That wild, lewd, and unthrifty youth is frequently the parent's fault in making them men seven years too soon.

XXVI. That youth are guilty of much folly and extravagance, having but children's judgments, therefore should be instructed and governed with the greatest prudence and tenderness.

XXVII. That the better to prevent the follies of youth the ancient Romans had a law, by which their sons were not permitted to possess their father's estate until they arrived at the age of twenty-five years.

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